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Wisconsin Landfall of Jean Nicolet, 1634

From oil painting by Edwin Willard Deming, in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL. D.

SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. X

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UNDER THE EDITORIAL DIRECTION OF

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

Secretary and Superintendent

Donated by Nora Griffin 1994

General
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Vols I-X

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Preface to Reprint Edition

Although due in 1886, owing to some unavoidable delays volume x did not actually issue from the press until two years later. Dr. Draper's secretaryship had ended December 31, 1886, but subsequently he spent much time in finishing up his work; in the preparation of the General Index to volumes i–x he was assisted by the present writer. It should be explained, however, that this index was, so far as the first nine were concerned, based entirely upon the indices published in those volumes; by this method, whatever errors had crept into the individual indices were necessarily carried forward into the general index. It is our intention, when the time comes, to publish a new general index to cover volumes i–xx; this will involve a complete re-indexing of the first ten, to accord with present-day methods and ideals.

Volume x is particularly noticeable for an animated antiquarian controversy over the existence or non-existence of an early French fort on the site of Prairie du Chien. In his *History of Crawford and Richland Counties* (Springfield, Ill., 1884), and in a previous paper before the Madison Literary Club (January 14, 1884), Consul Willshire Butterfield had declared that "There was never within the boundaries of Crawford County a French military post of any kind." This statement called out vigorous rejoinders, herein published, from Dr. James D. Butler, Dr. Draper, and Dr. Edward D. Neill, who contended that Prairie du Chien was the site of at least two such forts—by La Salle and Perrot successively. Mr. Butterfield, having been shown the proofs of their respective articles, replied to his critics in a later contribution to the present volume. As will readily be evident to one reading between the

lines, the debate aroused not a little bitterness at the time. To an unprejudiced observer, a score of years later, when all four of these competent antiquarians have passed away, it would, with all kindness to the memory of Mr. Butterfield, seem that he had much the worst of the argument. The symposium is a substantial contribution to the history of the State, incidentally bringing out many facts of interest concerning the period of French occupancy.

We have in this volume several illuminating documents, reaching from 1794 to 1821, selected from the Lawe and Grignon Papers in the Society's possession; also some additional papers collected by Thomas G. Anderson, whose valuable Narrative and Journal were published in our volume ix. Of the same character is Father Crespel's account of De Lignery's expedition against the Foxes, in 1728; but this should be read in connection with the documentary resumé of the French regime in our volumes xvi, xvii, and xviii. Fathers Garneau and Ferland discuss the ever-interesting subject of Jean Nicolet, to which still further contributions are made in our volume xi.

Dr. Butler gives the earliest history of the Four Lake country (Taychoperah), especially on the French side. There are some minor contributions to the fruitful topic of the Black Hawk War. Col. John Shaw presents sketches of several Wisconsin Indian chiefs and pioneers. James Sutherland writes of early exploration and settlement in Wisconsin in general, presenting nothing new, but giving us a convenient compilation of facts already brought out in the *Collections*.

The paper on Col. Henry Gratiot, by Elihu B. Washburne, and Mrs. Adèle De P. Gratiot's Narrative, are both of them welcome additions to Wisconsin history. The Gratiots were from many points of view a highly interesting pioneer family; their story illuminates the annals of the entire lead-mine region.

Dr. Draper's careful and exhaustive study of autograph collections of signers of the American declaration of independence and of the federal constitution is hardly germane to the pur-

pose of the *Collections,* save so far as it is a report of the Society's own considerable collection of these autographs. It remains, however, the standard monograph on the subject.

In accordance with the custom then in vogue, the volume contains memorial sketches of two prominent deceased members—Andrew Proudfit and Dr. O. M. Conover—and the Editor's resumé of Wisconsin necrology for 1879–82. Commencing with the year 1887, the annual volume of *Proceedings* was instituted, and thereafter such matters were consigned to this publication, leaving for the biennial *Collections* only documentary and monographic material. In volume xvi of the latter was inaugurated the plan of reserving this series for documentary materials for Western (more specifically Wisconsin) history, and the *Proceedings* for annual reports and for narratives, monographs, and other secondary sources. In the *Proceedings* for 1896 the custom was resumed, after a hiatus of fourteen years, of publishing outline sketches of prominent Wisconsin pioneers who had died during the year; this annual recital was continued through the *Proceedings* for 1905, but was then suspended, for the reason that practically all of the Territorial pioneers have now left us. We continue, however, to preserve in the Library, in form convenient for reference, and properly-indexed, newspaper obituaries of all prominent citizens of the State.

In closing this reprint edition of the ten volumes of *Collections* published under the editorship of Dr. Draper, the present Editor can but express his deep sense of satisfaction at being the agency through which that treasure-house of Western historical material has been given a new lease of existence. The official store of the original editions had long since become exhausted, and several of the volumes were rarities bringing high prices in the book market. Public and school libraries throughout the Commonwealth, several times more numerous than twenty years ago, were much in need of complete sets of *Collections* for the use of the constantly increasing body of students of Wisconsin history, yet but few such sets were in existence. It was therefore a matter for general congratulation that the

Legislature of 1903 provided for this second edition, rendering it possible for all interested libraries to obtain copies.

Dr. Draper's editorial methods differed somewhat from those in fashion in our day; but a recognition of this in no manner detracts from their quality. Throughout his thirty-three years of devotion to the work of the Society, he was in every branch of that undertaking sadly hampered by inadequacy of funds; he could therefore command but slight editorial assistance, and was able to spend but little for research in neighboring states or in foreign archives. On the mechanical side of book-making, also, he was, through circumstances beyond his control, never able to realize his ideals. When it is considered that the *Collections* were almost his only vehicle of publication, and that therefore much space must necessarily be sacrificed therein for matters of temporary value, the marvel is that the volumes were maintained upon so high a level of scholarship.

From the appearance of the first volume in 1855, the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* commanded wide attention. Their reputation grew as the successive books appeared. They easily took rank, so far as much of the contents was concerned, with the publications of the Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania societies, and set a pace for the newer societies of the Middle West. Long before his retirement, Dr. Draper had won high place as an editor of historical material, and probably no man engaged in this manner of work was in his day more widely known among Americanists than he.

Merely from the point of view of the history of the Society, these reprinted volumes are of the greatest interest. In the Annual Reports are chronicled the steady growth of the institution, from that fortunate day in January, 1854, when Dr. Draper assumed charge of its fortunes as executive officer until, a generation later, he gracefully transferred his burden to other and younger shoulders. It is a remarkable story of almost continuous progress, save during the anxious period of the War of Secession: success achieved amidst conditions that to many might frequently have appeared disheartening. From the first, the Society's friends have never faltered in its support; but in

the early years it likewise had enemies, and, perhaps most discouraging of all, many who saw in it merely a tax-consumer, far removed from a public necessity. Not seldom were there dark hours when the life of the Society was in imminent danger. In such peril, however, there was one at the helm whose courage never wavered, whose faith was unflagging, whose enthusiasm was contagious. A man of the world, with large family responsibilities, might well have abandoned the task, and none could have gainsaid him; but with the self-abnegating humility of a saint, mingled with the often pathetic trust of a winsome child, Draper ever denied himself that the Society might live. In due time, his sacrifices for the cause commanded widespread admiration; success won recognition, and by the time he left it, the future of the institution was assured. His Introduction to volume x is a benediction.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis.
December, 1908.

REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF WISCONSIN,

For the Years 1883, 1884 and 1885.

VOL. X.

WITH A GENERAL INDEX TO VOLS. I—X.

MADISON, WIS.:
DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTER.
1888.

Introductory

This tenth volume of the Wisconsin Historical Society's *Collections* completes the first series of the work, and includes a full index of the whole. Little need be offered by way of apology or explanation. In the infancy and poverty of the State, it was difficult at first to enlist the sympathies and encouragement of our people in the work of saving our historic materials; difficult to avert the obstacles thrown in the way by a doubting or querulous legislature; difficult to secure even the smallest pittance for the most pressing needs of an infant institution; and difficult to secure the early publication of its garnerings, even in the rudest form. To inspire faith and hope, that what was sought to lay the foundations of such an institution was really necessary, or would contribute to the honor, fame, and up-building of the youthful State, was a matter of no small effort. But it is gratifying to reflect, that all our early promises of usefulness, and pledges of economy, with faithfulness and devotion to the work in hand, have been fully met, and even more than realized.

During a period of over thirty years, under a single guidance, much of our early Wisconsin story has been brought out, and not a little of it pretty thoroughly discussed and elucidated. Our pioneers have aided materially in this good work—Grignon, Brisbois, Shaw, Lockwood, Ellis, Childs, Meeker, Mr. and Mrs. Baird, Martin, the Parkinsons, Bracken, Lapham, Strong, Lothrop, Frank, Clark, Fonda, Powell, Vieau, De La Ronde, Beouchard, Mrs. Bristol, Brunson, Holton, Merrell, Peet, Rice, Whitford, Butler, and many others.

Such an array of contributors have very naturally covered a wide range of topics, embracing nearly everything touching the primitive history of Wisconsin and the

Northwest—archæology, Indian manners, wars, customs, language, Indian nomenclature, and Indian trade; early French exploration, settlement, growth of the country, progress of education, and pioneer biography.

Not a little yet remains, in the way of details, to be developed, and wrought into historical narrative. Many doubts and difficulties have been explained in the course of these thirty odd years' discussions, so that it will be easier hereafter to investigate the sources, subjects, and details of our early history. The more modern era of settlement and expansion has yet to be grappled with and elucidated; but the gathering of the Lawe, Porlier, Boyd, Martin, and other papers will much facilitate the labor. The important part Wisconsin played in our Civil War is yet to be told, and considerable material has been gathered for this purpose.

Commencing this labor for the Society thirty odd years ago, with no pecuniary resources whatever, with only some fifty volumes, of which all but two were Wisconsin publications, and now exhibiting some one hundred and eighteen thousand books, newspaper files and pamphlets—a collection unequalled west of the Alleghanies—with a gallery of portraits, and a rare collection of prehistoric and other curiosities, with the Library performing a splendid work in behalf of our literary investigators, is a consummation most gratifying to the people of Wisconsin.

Devoutly trusting that the future may have great prosperity in store for the Society, and that my successor, Reuben G. Thwaites, may find his hands strengthened, and his heart encouraged, in the great work upon which he has entered with so much spirit and enthusiasm, I retire from the Society's service with grateful thanks for the unflagging confidence and encouragement I so constantly received from my associates, and the people of Wisconsin.

Lyman C. Draper

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Obituaries — Atwood, Jackson, Pinney, Draper and Bashford.

Synopsis of Annual Reports of Executive Committee

Twenty-ninth Report—January 2, 1883

The managers and friends of the Society should be thankful that better and safer apartments are being provided by the State for its large and rapidly augmenting collections. While we do not get all we asked for, yet what we do get is a decided step in advance. In our memorial a year ago to the Legislature, we plead for a *separate* and *isolated* building, with ample grounds for future building expansion, as the exigencies of the Society should from time to time require.

Had the whole of the south wing been designated for the Society's use and occupancy, it would have been none too much for our present and future wants. We should then have been less crowded in the internal arrangements, with more shelving space and more reading-room accommodations. As it is, with two stories assigned us for Library and reading-room purposes, and yet another, the upper story, with its sky-light provision, for our picture gallery and cabinet, we should have considerably more than double the shelving capacity we now have; and hence, apparently, provision for some twenty years accretions to the Library, supposing our growth should be no greater than the average of the past few years.

This, however, is not a proper guide; for we have reason to believe, as other great public libraries are frequently receiving large book and money bequests, so our Society is

destined to be the recipient of valuable acquisitions from many a thoughtful friend. If similar societies at the East are generously endowed, why should not liberal things be devised by public spirited men of Wisconsin, for our noble institutions—confessedly the peer of all its sister associations of the West? Wisconsin has a goodly number of generous sons who will not dishonor their adopted or native State, but will, in time, make liberal provision for such an institution as ours, that it may never flag in its career of usefulness as a great public educator of the people.

Could the entire south wing have been set apart for the Society, we should then have had accommodations for some forty years. When the time comes—as it surely will come—that still ampler accommodations will be requisite for the growth and needs of the Society, we may well trust to the wisdom, foresight and liberality of the next generation to make the needful provision. Architects assure us that the present new wings can never be enlarged without too seriously impairing the symmetry of the building, and making yet greater encroachments on the beautiful grounds of the Capitol. So the Society must eventually look outside of the Capitol grounds for its future permanent home. With the steady growth of the State, no doubt the rooms assigned the Society in the new south wing will be eventually needed for public purposes, and what the State and Society may most deplore is, that an ample plot of ground, which could now be had, may not in all probability be obtainable of convenient access and suitable location some twenty years hence.

General and Binding Funds

The receipts of the year into the general fund have been the annual appropriation of $5,000, and the disbursements $4,991.79—leaving an unexpended balance of $8.21.

To the binding fund the following additions have been made: donation, Geo. Plumer Smith, $5; Hon. D. K. Tenney, Hon. Mortimer M. Jackson, and Hon. John A. Johnson, $20 each for life memberships; accrued interest, $561.92; duplicate books sold, $165.59; annual membership dues $120.00—thus

showing an increase from these several sources of $912.51, and making the present amount of this important fund $10,279.96.

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the past year, have been 2,856 volumes; of which 2,087 were by purchase, and 769 by donation and binding of newspaper files; and 2,333 pamphlets and documents, of which 577 were obtained by purchase, and 1,756 by donations. Of the book additions 391 were folios, and 239 quartos, increasing the number of folios in the Library to 3,381, and the quartos to 4,127, and both together to 7,508. The grand total of volumes and pamphlets now in the Library is 100,189.

The strength of the Library is best shown by reference to the number of volumes in several of our important departments of collection: Bound newspaper files 4,091; British Patent Reports 3,952; American Patent Reports 356—both collections of Patent Reports together 4,308; atlases and maps 887; genealogy and heraldry, 807; Shakespeareana bound volumes, 329; pamphlets 50—together, 379, including Halliwell's magnificent work in sixteen folio volumes, and the Shakespeare Society publications in twenty volumes. To the flourishing department of county histories, to which one hundred and eighty-eight volumes had been the gathering of the preceding four years, 59 volumes have been added.

Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number, and the period of their publication:

	Years.	*Vols.*
London Chronicle and Post	1765	1
Salem (Mass.), Gazette and Boston Gazette	1784–85	1
New Haven Gazette	1786–87	1
Walpole (N. H.), Farmers' Museum	1798–1801	1
Miscellaneous newspapers	1801–19	1
Boston Magazine and Ladies' Visitor	1805–07	1
Boston Times	1807–08	1
Northampton (Mass.), Republican and Spy, and Newburyport Statesman	1808–09	1
Boston Patriot and Independent Chronicle	1809–17	9
Philadelphia Weekly Aurora	1811–12	1
Boston Independent Chronicle and Hanover (N. H.), American	1814–16	1
Richmond (Va.), Enquirer	1818–26	4
Salem (Mass.), Essex Register	1819–20	1
Boston, Howard Gazette and Herald	1823–24	1

Cincinnati National Republican	1823–26	3
Washington National Intelligence	1826–27	2
New York Mercury	1829–31	1
Cincinnati (O.), Chronicle	1846–49	1
New York Literary World	1847–52	10
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper	1855–68	26
London Diplomatic Review and Free Press	1855–77	14
New York Momus	1860	1
Virginia Newspapers	1865–82	2
Richmond (Va.), Presbyterian	1869–82	3
New York Independent	1875–81	7
Wadsworth (O.), Enterprise	1876–79	1
The South (N. Y.)	1876–81	1
New York Weekly Sun	1876–81	1
Staunton (Va.), Spectator	1877–81	1
Harrisburg (Va.), Commonwealth	1878–81	1
Richmond (Va.), Standard	1878–81	1
Chicago Scandinavian	1878–81	1
Washington (D. C.), Capital	1878–81	1
Washington (D. C.), Congressional Record and Index	1880–81	5
The Virginias (Staunton, Va.)	1880–81	1
Chicago Standard	1880–81	1
Chicago Lumberman	1881	1
Chicago Railway Age	1881	1
Chicago Northwestern Miller	1881	1
New York Nation	1881	2
New York World	1881–82	3
New York Tribune	1881–82	5
Chicago Times	1881–82	4
Chicago Tribune	1881–82	4
Wisconsin daily, weekly, and semi-weekly papers	1878–82	188
		319

These additions make the total number of bound newspaper files of the seventeenth century, 65 volumes; of the eighteenth century, 474; of the present century, 3,552; grand total, 4,901. The Society receives regularly 14 daily newspapers, 228 weekly, 3 semi-monthly, and 17 monthly—total, 252, of which 238 are Wisconsin papers. Sixteen periodicals are also received.

Library Additions—Summary

American Patents	14
British Patents	65
American History and Travel	98
American Local History	158
American Revolutionary War History	23
American Indians	30
State Histories and Documents	120
United States Documents and Surveys	80
Slavery and Civil War	50
Canada	27
Magazines and Reviews	168
Historical and Learned Societies	24

American Biography	125
Foreign Biography	71
Genealogy and Heraldry	51
Foreign History	160
Antiquities and Archæology	129
G. Britain, History and Biography	250
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	91
Language and Philology	31
Bibliography	24
Social Science	42
English Literature	192
Religious History, etc.	97
Education	19
Science	148
Drama	18
Dictionaries	25
Almanacs and Registers	9
Voyages and Travels	24
Bound newspaper files	319
Atlases bound	9
Shakespeareana	41
Fine Arts	51
Politics and Government	50
Miscellaneous	23
	2,856

Autographs

Autograph letters of John Blair and Nathaniel Gorham, signers of the Constitution of the United States 1785, and Robert R. Livingston 1776; also, of Elihu Burritt 1845, John G. Whittier 1838, Gerrit Smith 1844, Geo. H. Stuart 1838, Rev. Geo. Storrs 1839, Joshua Leavitt 1840, John E. Moyne 1841, Alvan Stewart 1838, T. D. Weld 1838, M. McMichael 1841, written to and presented by Hon. S. D. Hastings; original manuscript commission of Gov. Haldimand of Canada to Chawanon, grand chief of the Menomonees, in English and French 1787, taken with the medal therein referred to from the Menomonees Aug. 1, 1864, at Keshena, Wisconsin, by Dr. M. M. Davis, Indian agent; also a warrant of esteem from Maj. Rogers at Mackinaw, issued 1787 to Okimasay, a Menomonee, taken up by Dr. Davis, and presented by him; commission of Nathaniel F. Hyer, as postmaster at Jefferson, Wisconsin, May 27, 1837, signed by Amos Kendall, postmaster general; also a commission to the same as postmaster at Dunkirk, Wisconsin, May 22, 1847, signed by Cave Johnson, postmaster general, from Mr. Hyer.

Antiquities

Copper spear-head with socket, three inches long, found on town 8, range 8, Waukesha County, Wisconsin, near North Lake, from John Rice; a similar one found three miles south of Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, near Koshkonong Creek, from John A. Dodge; copper spear, five inches long, found on the farm of Thomas Coughlin, town of Fort Winnebago, Columbia County, Wisconsin, in 1882, from Mr. Coughlin, through C. C. Britt, of Portage City; stone chisel, found in town of Strong's Prairie, Adams County, Wisconsin, by C. Swarthout, from O. Ostrander, Bristol, Dane County, Wisconsin; fragments of brick, from Aztalan, Wisconsin, from Professor J. D. Butler, LL. D.; plaster cast of a large stone pipe, with carved human face, which was found on section 2, town 6, range 14 east, in town of Jefferson, Wisconsin, presented by Colonel G. W. Burchard.

Coin and Currency

One cent, Republic of Uruguay, 1869, from W. C. Wyman; half skilling, Danske, 1771, copper, from B. H. Burnson; $1, $5, $50, $100, Virginia treasury notes, Richmond, Virginia, 1861–1862, signed but not circulated, from Hon. F. Broughton, Hamilton, Ontario; $5, Bank of Wisconsin, Green Bay, March 1, 1837, signed by M. L. Martin, President, and H. Stringham, Cashier, from A. T. Glaze; $10, $20 and $50 Confederate bank notes, February 17, 1864, and ten two, and thirteen five cent, Confederate postage stamps, from Hon. J. Marshall McCue; twelve copper tokens and Harrison log cabin medal, from Mrs. Ruth M. Davis; a large silver medal found near Prairie du Chien about the year 1860 in an Indian grave, presented by Hon. Horace Beach; thirty-two English, French, Belgian, and Italian silver and copper coins, 1850–1877, from General Lucius Fairchild; five United States fractional currency, ten and twenty-five cents, from same.

Natural History Specimens

Fossil shell (ammonite) from the Yellowstone, Montana Territory, from Hon. M. W. McDonnell; specimen of cop-

per ore from Lake Superior, 150 feet below the surface, from J. C. Fresvold; specimens of calceite, galenite, native copper, etc., from J. W. Livingston; collection of agates and mineral specimens, from Black River, Wisconsin, from Mrs. Arthur Bradstreet; skull of a small lynx, from Isador Hengen.

Paintings and Photographs

A fine oil portrait of Christopher Columbus procured by Ex-Gov. Fairchild in Spain, a copy of the Yanez portrait, deemed by Spaniards to have the strongest claims to authenticity of any picture in the peninsula, presented to the Society by Gov. Fairchild.

An oil portrait of Jas. S. Buck, an early settler of Milwaukee, painted by Alvin Bradish, gilt frame, from Mr. Buck; crayon portrait of the late Hon. J. Allen Barber, of Platteville, Wis., drawn by J. R. Stuart, handsomely framed, from Mrs. Barber.

Photographs of members of the Virginia senate and house of representatives, 1857–58, mounted on two cardboards, folio, from Hon. J. Marshall McCue; photographs of Edward and Alonzo Maxwell, known as Ed. and Lon Williams, desperadoes, from Hon. Miletus Knight; group of members of the Wisconsin Assembly, 1881, from Hon. Ira B. Bradford; groups of the clerical force of the chief clerks of the senate and assembly, 1882, and the assembly employees—sergeant's force, 1882, presented by the parties, and neatly framed, by A. C. Isaacs; lithographic birds-eye view of the city of Janesville, Wis., from Hon. James Sutherland.

Miscellaneous

Biographical and manuscript notes of Virginia house of delegates, 1859–60, from Hon. J. Marshall McCue; a silver watch found at Monmouth, N. J., by the father of the late Maj. Geo. Anderson, of Madison, Wis., after the battle, June 28th, 1778; also a pair of steel spurs taken from the boots of a British grenadier by the same, presented by Sinclair Botkin; also a silver hilted dress sword, worn by the grandfather of Maj. Geo. Anderson in Scotland; MSS. papers and letters of the late I. A. Lapham, LL. D., from his daughter, Miss

Julia A. Lapham; survey of a portion of the county of Green, Wis., made by the late Gen. Jas. Biggs, a member of the second Wisconsin constitutional convention; Mexican MS. documents of Bustamente, Santa Anna and others, from Dr. C. C. Blanchard; snow-shoes presented to the late Rev. Dr. Alfred Brunson by the Chippewas at LaPointe, Lake Superior, in 1843, from his family; Egyptian corn, grown by L. R. Seely, Waterloo, Wis., from J. A. B. Whitney; portion of a brass chain found near Hellenville station, near Jefferson, Wis., seven feet below the surface, from G. Snyder.

Since our last annual meeting, our Society has lost its honored president, Gen. C. C. Washburn. He lived a life of great industry, and great usefulness; and has left behind him a name and memory that will not soon be forgotten. His life and services have been fittingly commemorated by our Society, as will be seen in our forthcoming volume of *Collections*.

Thirtieth Report—January 4, 1884

In making the thirtieth report of the Society's growth and condition, showing an average annual increase of the Library of 3,500 books and pamphlets, thus aggregating nearly 105,000, some might inadvertently suppose that the book market was well nigh exhausted, and that we have little need of further accretions to our literary collections. Of the millions of volumes that have been issued from the press since the invention of printing, Mr. Justin Winsor, the librarian of Harvard, intimates that not more than one-half of one per cent, are in the combined libraries of this country. But among this small number in our American collections, are some of the choicest gems of literature—so rare that even European scholars have been known to cross the Atlantic to consult them. Such visits will, in all probability, be yet more frequent in the coming years, when learned antiquaries will institute exhaustive researches into the origin, migrations, habits, customs and

obscure, mysterious history of our Indian races. Every treatise, tract and fragment on the subject will then be called in requisition. In this age of culture and science, similar investigations will be made in every department of human inquiry—hence the necessity, so far as our ability will permit, that our Society should keep pace with these steadily increasing demands for light and knowledge.

It is only within the past thirty years that American libraries fairly entered upon a career of earnest endeavor to provide adequate means to meet the growing wants and literary tastes of the country. Millions of dollars have been expended in this direction—largely from the bounty of enlightened and generous benefactors. Hitherto the East has furnished the Astors, the Lenoxes, and others, who have founded and endowed noble libraries, worthy alike of the age and the givers. Such examples should not be lost upon the West. We begin to see, in a small way, some of the fruits. Mr. James McMillen, of Detroit, recently gave the Michigan University Library $6,500 for the purchase of a Shakespeare collection of 2,500 volumes; while another gentleman, too modest to allow his name to be associated with his generosity, contributed $4,000 to the same library for the procurement of books on history and political science. Would that such rare examples might be multiplied a hundred fold, and our Society share liberally in their distribution.

Financial Condition—General Fund

The receipts of the year into the general fund, including the small balance on hand as shown by the treasurer's report of Jan. 3, 1883, have been $5,008.21; and the expenditures the same.

The Binding Fund

The binding fund has been augmented from the usual sources—accrued interest, $590.52; sale of duplicate books $261.33; annual membership dues, $126; Hon. Alexander Mitchell, donation, $100; Samuel Marshall, donation, $50; rent of Texas land, $6.40—aggregating from all these sources, $1,134.25, and making the present amount of the fund $11,414.21.

Library Additions

Most of the departments of our Library have been much increased during the past year—notably those of American and local history, genealogy, American and foreign biography, magazines, and reviews, and our rapidly increasing collection of Shakespeareana. The growth of the Shakespeare department has been more than double that of any preceding year—including 28 volumes of issues of the New Shakespeare Society. The increase in our bound newspaper files has been very limited, having had none bound during the year; but the purchased additions include several rare volumes of the last century. A valuable atlas of American and European maps of 1738, etc., has been added to our map and atlas collection. Our department of genealogy and heraldry has been increased 80 volumes; while we have secured 30 volumes of the *Bibliotheca Sacra,* and 28 volumes of the second series of the Pennsylvania *Geological Reports.*

Our Society has been fortunate, after thirty years efforts, in securing a copy, with its ancient map, of that exceedingly rare volume—Thevenot's *Collection of Voyages,* published at Paris in 1681, giving an account of Marquette's travels through Wisconsin—the first white traveler who penetrated our soil, via the Wisconsin River, to the Mississippi, and the first printed chronicle of that primitive exploration. We have secured, by importation, a valuable work of a similar character, though of modern print, Gabriel Gravier on the *Discovery of America by the Normands,* in the tenth century, Paris, 1874, 4to. Another rare volume secured is *A Letter to a Friend,* relative to Braddock's defeat, published at Boston in 1758.

The additions to the Library during the past year have been 1,983 volumes; of which 1,418 were by purchase, and 565 by donation; and 2,496 pamphlets and documents, of which 564 were obtained by purchase, and the remainder, 1,743, were by donation, together with 189 by mounted newspaper cuttings. Of the book additions, 55 were folios, and 267 quartos, increasing the number of folios in the Library to 3,436, and the quartos to 4,394, and both together to 7,830.

The total strength of the Library is now 104,668 volumes and pamphlets.

In their several departments, the strength of the Library is thus shown: Bound newspaper files, 4,118; British and American Patent Reports, 4,321; maps and atlases, 897; genealogy and heraldry, 887; Shakespeareana, 591; county histories, 370.

Library Additions—Summary

American Patents	13
American History and Travel	101
American Local History	142
American Revolutionary War History	5
American Indians	9
State Histories and Documents	187
United States Documents and Surveys	190
Slavery and Civil War	60
Canada	24
Magazines and Reviews	156
Historical and Learned Societies	13
American Biography	73
Foreign Biography	26
Genealogy and Heraldry	80
Foreign History	55
Antiquities and Archæology	4
G. Britain History and Biography	112
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	19
Language and Philology	4
Bibliography	19
Social Science	7
English Literature	55
Religious History etc.	69
Education	12
Science	69
Drama	4
Directories	26
Poetry and Fiction	8
Almanacs and Registers	12
Voyages and Travels	18
Bound newspaper files	27
Atlases and Maps	10
Shakespeareana	212
Fine Arts	36
Miscellaneous	18
Medical	4
Classics	54
Politics and Government	27
Political Economy	6
Law	17
	1,983

Newspaper Additions—Bound

	Years.	*Vols.*
Boston Gazette	1758–59	1
Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser	1766–68	2
Boston Chronicle	1768–69	2
Essex (Mass.), Gazette	1772–73	1

Boston Gazette and Post Boy	1774–75	1
Gloucester (England), Journal	1775–99	5
Alexandria (D. C.), Times and Advertiser	1799–1802	5
Gloucester (England), Journal	1800–5	1
Northampton (Mass.), Hive	1804	1
Gloucester (England), Journal	1813–16	1
Washington (D. C.), Telegraph	1828–29	1
Cincinnati Sentinel	1829–31	2
Fond du Lac (Wis.), Freeman	1854–56	1
Mt. Vernon Record	1858–59	1
Scrap Book (U. S. Civil War)	1859–66	1
Scientific American	1865	1

Of these twenty-seven volumes, fourteen were published in the last century, embracing a part of the old French War, and one file covering the whole period of our Revolutionary War. The bound newspaper files of the seventeenth century number 65 volumes; of the eighteenth century, 488; of the present century, 3,565—grand total, 4,118.

The Society receives regularly 16 daily newspapers, 222 weekly, 3 semi-monthly, and 5 monthly—total, 246, of which 233 are Wisconsin publications. Twenty periodicals are also received.

Art Gallery.—Oil portrait of Hon. Enoch Chase, of Milwaukee, in handsome gilt frame, painted by C. W. Heyd. Presented by Mr. Chase.

Oil portrait of Hon. Cyrus Woodman, of Cambridge, Mass., painted by Fred W. Vinton. Presented by Mr. Woodman in exchange for one returned to him.

Oil portrait of Hon. A. R. R. Butler, of Milwaukee, elegant gilt frame, painted by C. W. Heyd. Presented by Mr. Butler.

Oil portrait of Hon. Theodore Prentiss, of Watertown, Wis., painted by A. F. Brooks, in elegant gilt frame. Presented by Mr. Prentiss.

Oil portrait of ex-President James Madison, painted by George Catlin from life, in Virginia, in 1827. Presented by Dr. A. H. VanNorstrand.

Oil portrait of Hon. Moses M. Strong, painted by J. R. Stuart—and elegantly framed, from Mr. Strong.

Oil portrait, large size, of Hernando De Soto, copied from a portrait in Madrid, Spain. Presented by Gen. Lucius Fairchild.

Oil portrait of S. M. Brookes, a pioneer artist of Chicago and Milwaukee, now of San Francisco. Presented by himself.

Two transparencies of Keokuk, Sauk chief, and Esense or Little Shell, a Chippewa, of Turtle Island, Dakota. Photographed on glass. Large cabinet size, framed; from Jas. C. Pilling, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

Photograph of the State senate of Wisconsin, of 1883, from A. C. Isaacs, rosewood frame; same of the clerical force of Assembly of 1883, from I. T. Carr, chief clerk, with rosewood frame, from Mr. Isaacs; same of the south capitol extension building, showing the disaster of November 8, 1883, three views, and of the capitol building enlarged—purchased. Also photograph of the Dane County, Wis., bar of 1859—purchased.

Steel engraved portrait of Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson, bishop of Missouri, from Bishop Robertson.

Cabinet Additions

Antiquities.—A small copper hatchet, two and one half inches long, one inch wide, found on the North Branch, of Crawfish River, Jefferson County, Wis., from Frank Winterling, of Jefferson, Wis.; copper chisel with tang, five inches long and one and three eighths of an inch wide, found on Johnson's Creek, Jefferson County, Wis., H. C. McMillen; copper needle, six and a half inches long, a copper spear, five and a quarter inches long, and an iron arrow-head two and a quarter inches long, found on the bank of the Wisconsin River, near Richland City, presented by Alfred Beckwith, of Gotham, Richland County, Wis.; a stone implement, pointed (syenite), nineteen inches long, six inches in circumference, weighing three and a quarter pounds, plowed up in Vernon County, Wis., in 1880, from Henry Casson, Jr., of Viroqua, Wis.; copper spear with socket, five and a half inches long, fine specimen, found near Rice Lake, Barron County, Wis., from John H. Knapp, Menomonee, Wis.; copper knife, three and seven eighths inches long, found near Waupaca, Wis., from Dr. P. T. Hanson, of Waupaca, Wis.; a copper spear, six and three quarters inches long, found on

Prairie Lake, near Rice Lake, Barron County, Wis., in 1880, from Mr. Leonard.

Autographs and Manuscript.—An autograph letter of Stephen Hopkins, signer of the declaration of independence, dated July 17, 1758; manuscript article on the Peckatonica battle, 1832, by Hon. Peter Parkinson, of Fayette, Wis., from Mr. Parkinson; sketch of Hon. C. C. Washburn, by Hon. E. B. Washburne; memorial of members of Wisconsin Territorial legislature, 1837 to President Van Buren, recommending Hon. John Catlin as register or receiver of land office in Wisconsin, from Hon. M. M. Strong; check on Milwaukee National Bank, June 22, 1882, a relic of the Newhall House fire, January 10, 1883, from M. M. Schoetz, Milwaukee.

Natural History Specimens.—Section of a tree petrified, found in Monroe County, Wis., presented by A. W. Durkee; quartz crystal and coral formations, found in Portland, Wis., from John J. Wilsey, of Portland; a fine specimen of coral formation, found on town 28, range 9, Marathon County, Wis., from Hon. John Ringle; Markesan granite, sample from Pine Bluff, Green Lake County, Wis., from S. Barter; drift copper, found on the farm of Wallace Cate, of Mukwonago, Wis., from Col. E. B. Gray; specimen of rock salt, from the salt mines of Cheshire, Eng., from Thos. Hadkinson, Black Earth, Wis.; rattlesnakes' rattles, from R. A. and F. F. Morgan, Eagle Valley, Buffalo County, Wis.

Miscellaneous.—War mace presented by James Bardon, of Superior, Wisconsin, given him by a Roman Catholic priest, who received it from "Sitting Bull," who said it was used in the fight where Custer and all his command were killed, presented through Professor J. D. Butler, LL. D.; gun-lock from the Newhall House fire, from Jas. McCoy, Milwaukee; also fused type and a small earthern dish from same, from T. Coughlin, Milwaukee; a flint-lock gun used by Jacob Senior, late of Benton, Lafayette County, Wisconsin, used by him at the surrender of Detroit, Michigan, and subsequently in the War of 1812–15, from W. W. Gillette, of Benton, Wisconsin; specimen of spindle of cotton, made at Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, factory, from H. F. Marsh, Sun

Prairie; one of the first tacks made in Wisconsin, by C. W. Dean, 1883, at Evansville, Wisconsin, from Mr. Dean, with his photograph; a framed looking-glass, eleven by seventeen inches, formerly owned by Isaac Brooks, of Fairfield, Connecticut, buried in the ground, in July, 1779, for preservation when the place was burned by the British at that time, presented by his grandson, W. B. Patterson, of Evansville, Wisconsin; a southern pike, made in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1861, called the "Marshal Kane pike," with a photograph of Confederate pikes and lances used in the Civil War in 1861–65, collected by Captain W. McK. Heath, Philadephia, Pennsylvania, presented by him; a copy of Vicksburg *Daily Citizen,* of July 2, 1862, on wall-paper—the last issue before the surrender of the place, from J. J. Donnellon, Chicago, Illinois.

The Society has made a purchase of 950 numbers of English and American periodicals, to complete the sets in the Library. Bishop C. F. Robertson, of St. Louis, has donated 22 volumes of the *Spirit of Missions,* to complete the set in the Library; and General E. E. Bryant, 3 copies Wisconsin Bar Association *Proceedings,* 1881. A complete set of proof specimens of the several series of postage stamps issued by the United States government from 1847 to 1883; also specimens of the current series of stamped envelopes, presented by the United States post office department. Copper coin, Island of Guernsey, one, two, and eight doubles, 1830 and 1834, from Peter Ozann, Somers, Kenosha County, Wisconsin.

The ninth volume of our Society's *Collections,* which should have appeared in 1882, was delayed, for the sake of perfecting its papers, till early in 1883. It contains a diversity of articles on our antiquarian and more modern history, notably that of Mr. Peet, on the "Emblematical Mounds of Wisconsin," and the narrative and journal of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, touching events in this country at the beginning of this century.

During the year, the usual Library work has been performed by the librarian and his assistants, attending to the wants of visitors, and preparing for the new catalogue to

be issued during the present year. Mr. Isaac Lyon, now in his eighty-ninth year, continues, voluntarily and without recompense, to supervise the cabinet department, with the same intelligent zeal and interest as in former years.

The Society has sustained a serious loss in the death of Hon. Andrew Proudfit, long one of its life members, and for the past thirteen years an honored member of the executive committee. He was a liberal contributor to the binding fund, and befriended the Society both in and out of the legislature. His benevolent deeds and honored name will long be held in grateful remembrance.

Thirty-first Report, January 2, 1885

Library organizations, as well as States and individuals, have their epochs. After three years of abortive efforts, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, originally suggested by Richard H. Magoon, was organized January 30th, 1849, having received its baptismal name from Gen. Wm. R. Smith. During the ensuing five years, the Society received from Frank Hudson two volumes of *Transactions* of the American Ethnological Society, also an original drawing of a lizard shaped mound discovered by him, in 1842, near Third or Monona Lake, Madison; a bibliographical volume on the *Literature of American Local History,* from the author, Herman E. Ludwig, of New York; a patent deed of land in New York, signed by Gov. George Clinton, 1794, from Dr. J. W. Hunt; a set of Territorial and State legislative journals, from Gov. Farwell, in behalf of the State; and an unbound file of five years of the *Weekly Wisconsin*, from Wm. E. Cramer. The whole did not exceed fifty volumes, and they only partially filled the small book-case, three and a half by four feet in size, which the Society preserves as a memento of this primitive epoch of its history—an epoch of "helpless infancy," as significantly expressed by our late worthy associate, Dr. Lapham.

During the last of these years, 1853, the late Rev. Charles Lord, the then recording secretary, and the present corre-

The Library of the Society, in 1853

sponding secretary, carried on a newspaper discussion as to the best policy of such a Society—the latter contending for an association open to all who would unite in its efforts, holding frequent meetings, and keeping its aims and purposes constantly before the people. Mr. Lord rather defended the old management; and thus a diversity of opinion was engendered, and nothing that year was accomplished.

The late Dr. Conover at length suggested, that as these differences were not serious, all the friends of the Society and its worthy objects had best work harmoniously together. So, in January, 1854, the Society was re-organized, Gen. W. R. Smith chosen president, Lyman C. Draper, corresponding secretary, Rev. Chas. Lord, recording secretary, O. M. Conover, treasurer, and Dr. J. W. Hunt, librarian. The second epoch of the Society was now commenced. A charter of incorporation, and an annual appropriation of $500 were obtained from the legislature. The little book-case, which for two or three years had occupied a corner in the governor's office, was now removed to the secretary of state's office, in which Dr. Hunt, the librarian, held a position; but so large were the additions by purchase and donation that year, 1,000 volumes and as many pamphlets, that the corresponding secretary was obliged to devote a small room in his private residence, where W. M. Rasdall now lives, to store away these accumulations. The next year, 1855, a small room in the south-east corner of the basement of the Baptist church was secured, which from time to time was enlarged, as the necessities of the Library required, during a period of eleven years, until the whole basement was occupied.

In January, 1866, the Society fairly entered upon its third epoch, removing into the rooms assigned it by the Legislature, in the then new capitol building, with its twenty-one thousand books and pamphlets. During these twelve years succeeding the Society's re-organization, the average annual increase of books and pamphlets was, in round numbers, 1,750; and during the nineteen years since removing into the capitol, the total increase has been 88,000 or, an average of over 4,600 annually.

With a Library of over 109,000 books and pamphlets we

now enter upon our fourth epoch, having during the past month, removed into our present comparatively safe and commodious apartments in the new south wing of the capitol. This epoch will probably extend to the period when the annual expansions of the Society's collections will necessitate another removal. It will remain for others in the not very distant future, to record its strength and progress; and we may well judge, that, having passed its infancy and entered upon its vigorous manhood, the Society will never be less prosperous than it has been during its past career.

Financial Condition—General Fund

The receipts and expenditures of the general fund have been the same—$5,000.

The Binding Fund

This fund has received but two donations during the year —one from W. H. Metcalf, of Milwaukee, of $50, and one from E. N. Foster of 50 cents. From other sources, the receipts have been as follows: Accrued interest, $788.16; sale of duplicates, $181.96; Hon. B. J. Stevens and Wayne Ramsey, life memberships, $40; annual membership dues, $141—making the increase of the year $1,201.62.

This makes the total amount $12,615.83, to which we expect eventually to add $1,000, the bequest of the late Hon. Stephen Taylor, not yet available; and probably fully another thousand from the sale of a section of land in Texas, the gift of the late Hon. John Catlin. The pressing wants of the Society, in consequence of an accumulation of long neglected binding, the constant accretion of pamphlets, magazines, and manuscripts, together with many hundreds, if not thousands, of volumes that from age and use need re-binding—call loudly for the crowding up of this fund to not less than $20,000, so that the income may, for all time, perform the important work expected of it.

Commenced in 1866, it will be seen that the binding fund has not made the growth that its importance demands—averaging only about $700 a year. Had such an institution as ours been located in New York, Boston, or Chicago, it

would have received many a generous donation; while with us, a whole twelve-month passes by, with scarcely an added gift to its needy binding fund.

It has been over eighteen years since Hon. John Catlin made the first donation to this fund. Its growth has been slow, while the needs of the Society are increasing with each additional year. Several of the aged managers of the Society would be rejoiced to see this fund made available before they go hence. We should make a pressing appeal to the friends of the Society in behalf of this fund. If pledges could be secured, payable one third yearly, without interest, for three years, the aggregate would probably go far towards completing the needed amount.

The several donors, with the full amount of their contributions, have been as follows:

Hon. Alexander Mitchell	$850 00
Hon. C. C. Washburn	300 00
Samuel Marshall	250 00
Hon. Cyrus Woodman	150 00
Rev. R. M. Hodges, D. D.	140 00
Hon. John Catlin	100 00
Hon. G. W. Allen	100 00
Charles Fairchild	100 00
Hon. Andrew Proudfit	100 00
Hon. Philetus Sawyer	100 00
Hon. James Sutherland	75 00
Hon. John F. Potter	50 00
Hon. Stephen Taylor	50 00
Hon. James T. Lewis	50 00
Col. Richard Dunbar	50 00
Terrill Thomas	50 00
Gen. J. J. Guppey	50 00
Hon. M. H. Carpenter	50 00
Hon. G. W. Bradford	50 00
Hon. John A. Rice	50 00
W. H. Metcalf	50 00
S. Alofson	25 00
W. B. Champion	20 00
T. Laidler	20 00
Col. Thos. Reynolds	20 00
Gen. C. P. Chapman	20 00
Hon. R. H. Baker	20 00
Hon. Gerrit Smith	20 00
Hon. Wm. Plocker	20 00
"A Friend"	20 00
Hon. E. D. Holton	20 00
J. H. Carpenter, LL. D.	20 00
Col. C. C. G. Thornton	20 00
Maj. F. W. Oakley	20 00
Hon. J. G. Thorp	20 00
Hon. D. K. Tenney	20 00
Hon. M. M. Jackson	20 00
Hon. John A. Johnson	20 00

Hon. B. J. Stevens	20 00
Wayne Ramsey	20 00
Hon. Philo White	12 50
Gen. John Lawler	10 00
Hon. G. H. Paul	10 00
Miss Clara M. Stevens	5 00
Mrs. L. M. Thomas	5 00
Geo. Plumer Smith	5 00
W. F. Sanders	2 00
Hon. Geo. Gary	2 00
J. B. Holbrook	2 00
C. M. Thurston	1 50
Hon. E. N. Foster	1 50
F. T. Haseltine	1 00
H. M. Nicholson	1 00
Dr. A. S. McDill	75
Donations	$3,209 25
Accrued interest, 1867–84	5,350 94
Duplicate books sold, 1867–1884	2,864 79
Membership fees, net, 1867–1884	1,184 45
Rent of Texas land	6 40
Total	$12,615 83

The annual increase of the binding fund since its inception in 1867, is shown by the following table:

Date.	Increase.	Total.
Jan. 1867	.....	$100 00
Jan. 1868	$8 10	108 10
Jan. 1869	64 63	172 73
Jan. 1870	195 79	368 52
Jan. 1871	89 55	458 07
Jan. 1872	198 31	656 38
Jan. 1873	173 43	829 81
Jan. 1874	973 78	1,803 59
Jan. 1875	921 02	2,724 61
Jan. 1876	1,343 82	4,068 43
Jan. 1877	731 98	4,800 41
Jan. 1878	795 10	5,595 51
Jan. 1879	928 98	6,524 49
Jan. 1880	920 73	7,445 22
Jan. 1881	888 67	8,333 89
Jan. 1882	1,033 56	9,367 45
Jan. 1883	912 51	10,279 96
Jan. 1884	1,134 25	11,414 21
Jan. 1885	1,201 62	12,615 83

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the past year have been 2,546 volumes, of which 1,606 were by purchase, and 940 by

donation and binding of newspaper files. Also 1,845 pamphlets and documents, of which 310 were obtained by purchase, and the remainder, 1,475, were by donation, and 60 by mounted newspaper cuttings. Of the book additions 266 were folios, and 290 quartos, increasing the number of folios in the Library to 4,702, and the quartos to 4,684, and both together to 9,386.

Among these Library additions have been quite a number of valuable and rare English county histories, in folio and quarto; the Hakluyt Society *Publications,* 47 volumes; *Mercure de France,* various years from 1605 to 1776, 29 volumes, and 16 other bound newspaper volumes preceding this century; Schlozer, *Epistolary Correspondence, in Germany, relating to our Revolutionary War,* 1776–81, 10 volumes; *Royal Microscopical Journal,* 28 volumes; 30 volumes of American historical atlases, together with large additions to the several departments of our collection, as may be seen by the following table of summary additions to the Library.

We can best realize the strength of the Library by citing that of a few of the departments: Bound newspaper files, 4,583; British and American Patent Reports, 4,308; genealogy and heraldry, 954; Shakespearean literature, 642; maps and atlases, 957.

Library Additions—Summary

American patents	11
British patents	76
American history and travel	76
American local history	99
American Revolutionary War history	18
American Indians	25
State Histories and Documents	81
United States Documents and Surveys	197
Slavery and Civil War	88
Canada	45
Magazines and Reviews	320
Historical and Learned Societies	71
American Biography	65
Foreign Biography	25
Genealogy and Heraldry	63
Foreign History	63
Antiquities and Archæology	35
G. Britain, History and Biography	105
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	33
Language and Philology	9
Bibliography	33
Social Science	11
English Literature	37
Religious History, etc.	43

Education	12
Science	89
Drama	73
Directories	25
Poetry and Fiction	13
Almanacs and Registers	57
Voyages and Travels	11
Bound Newspaper files	465
Atlases	45
Shakespeareana	49
Fine Arts	16
Miscellaneous	25
Medical	3
Classics	5
Political History	16
Law Literature	5
Secret Societies	8
	2,546

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table.

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and Pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, Jan. 4	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, Jan. 2	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2	1,211	3,779	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, Jan. 4	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, Jan. 2	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
1878, Jan. 2	1,818	5,090	6,908	77,064
1879, Jan. 3	2,214	1,827	4,041	81,105
1880, Jan. 6	2,050	3,027	5,077	86,182
1881, Jan. 3	1,884	2,707	4,591	90,773
1882, Jan. 3	2,741	1,486	4,227	95,000
1883, Jan. 2	2,856	2,333	5,189	100,189
1884, Jan. 2	1,983	2,496	4,479	104,668
1885, Jan. 2	2,546	1,845	4,391	109,059
Total.....	53,231	55,828	109,059	.....

Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number, and the period of their publication:

Mercure de France	1605–1776	29
London Swedish Intelligencer	1632–33	1
London Journal and British Journal	1720–23	1
Boston Gazette	1758–59	1
Edinburgh Chronicle	1759–60	2
Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser	1766–67	2
Salem, Essex Gazette	1768–70	1
Boston Chronicle	1769	1
Salem, Essex Gazette	1770–73	2
Boston Gazette	1774–75	1
New Haven Gazette and Magazine	1786–88	3
Albany Centinel, Register and Gazette	1800	1
Hudson Balance and Columbian Repository	1803	1
Boston Independent Chronicle	1804	1
Danbury, N. England Republican, etc.	1804–05	1
Baltimore Telegraph and Advertiser	1805	2
New York Weekly Inspector	1806–07	2
Washington Expositor	1808–09	2
London Packet	1808–09	1
Select newspapers	1808	1
Boston Palladium	1812	1
Boston Yankee	1814–15	1
Pittsburgh Recorder	1822	1
New Haven Register and Ct. papers	1822–27	6
Connecticut Papers	1825	1
Philadelphia Album	1826–27	1
Hartford Literary Casket	1827	1
Cherokee Phœnix	1828–31	1
New York Atlas	1828–29	1
Same	1829–31	1
New York Free Enquirer	1829–37	1
New York American	1831–35	2
Dublin Penny Journal	1832–33	1
New York Christian Intelligencer	1832–33	2
New York & Richmond Co. Free Press	1833–34	1
New York Ladies Morning Star	1836	1
Waldie's Literary Omnibus	1836–37	1
Cincinnati Literary Examiner	1839	1
Albany Rough Hewer & Argus	1840–41	2
New York, New World	1841–42	3
Washington Campaign	1848–49	1
Prague Constitutionalle Blatte	1850	1
Southern Literary Gazette	1852	1
Honolulu Friend	1852–81	4
Chambers, Edinburgh Journal	1855–63	9
Frankfort Commonwealth	1860	1
London Pall Mall Gazette	1867–73	23
London Scientific Opinion	1868–70	3
London Spectator	1870–80	11
London Templar	1871–79	5
London Pall Mall Budget	1873–75	4
London Saturday Review	1874, 1877–78	5
Chicago Advance	1875–83	9
London Good Templars and Watch Word	1876–77	1
Boston Woman's Journal	1877	1
Boston Union Signal	1877	1
Harper's Weekly	1877–83	7
Manchester Alliance News	1878–83	6
Dunedin New Zealand Herald	1879–82	1
Wisconsin newspapers	1878–83	227

Melbourne Temperance News	1878–83	1
Chicago Dial	1880–82	1
Hartford Christian Secretary	1880–82	1
Chicago N. West Lumberman	1882–83	2
Minneapolis N. Western Miller	1882–83	2
New York Baldwin's Monthly	1882–83	1
Chicago Rail Road Age	1882–83	2
New York Nation	1882–83	3
Chicago Times	1882–84	8
Chicago Tribune	1882–84	10
New York World	1882–84	7
New York Tribune	1882–84	8
Chicago Standard	1882–83	1
Chicago Weekly Magazine	1882–84	2
San Francisco Rescue	1882–83	1
Philadelphia S. School Times	1882–83	2
Washington Congressional Record	1883	5
		465

Of this unusually large newspaper addition, 11 volumes were published in the seventeenth century, 34 volumes in the eighteenth, and the remainder in the present century. Our newspaper department ranks among the very best in the country —there can be but one or two, if any, exceeding it in variety and extent—covering a period of almost three centuries. Of the seventeenth century, our bound files number 76 volumes; of the eighteenth, 522 volumes; of the present century, 3,985— making a grand total 4,583.

Art Gallery

An oil portrait of the late Col. Geo. H. Walker, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, painted by C. W. Heyd, with heavy gilt frame, presented by C. F. Ilsley for estate of Mrs. G. H. Walker; oil portrait of Col. Henry Gratiot, early settler of La Fayette County, Wisconsin, copied from a miniature by J. R. Stuart, gilt frame, presented by Mrs. E. B. Washburne, of Chicago; oil portrait of Samuel Marshall, of Milwaukee, gilt frame, painted by C. W. Heyd, of Milwaukee, presented by Mr. Marshall; large cabinet photograph of Gen. A. C. Dodge of Burlington, Iowa, gilt frame from Rev. Dr. Wm. Salter, of Burlington; crayon portrait of Rev. S. A. Dwinnell, late of Reedsburg, Wisconsin, framed, from Mrs. Dwinnell; large colored lithograph of the Battle of Gettysburg, gilt frame, from McCormick Harvesting Manufacturing Co.

The oil and crayon paintings now in the art gallery number 129, besides many photographs and engravings.

Coin and Currency.—Specimen metric gold stella, gold dollar and metric silver dollar—presentation pieces from United States Mint to members of Congress 1879, valued in coin $6.10 per set, presented by W. H. Wyman, Cincinnati, Ohio; two $1 Confederate notes, two $100 interest notes, one $50 note, two $20 notes, two $10 notes, two $5 notes and one $20 note of State of Georgia, from Tennessee Historical Society by G. P. Thurston, Nashville, Tenn.; two dollars Berrien County, Michigan, note, February, 1838, from M. Mullen, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin; 25 and 50 cent blank business script of Astor, Wisconsin Territory, from J. H. Hickcox, Washington, D. C.; copper piece Louis XVI., 1791, copper token, Coalbrook, England, 1792, Wainfleet half penny 1795, token Isaac Newton, 1793; token reform bill 1832, ten centimes Napoleon I, 1802, from Mathew Croft, Edgerton, Wisconsin; Spanish quarter of a dollar 1786, found in Necedah, Wisconsin, and presented by Wm. Perault, Necedah; 5 cent note of Blue Ridge, Turnpike Co., Va., Jan. 18, 1862, 25 cent note of Farmers' Savings Bank, Richmond, Va., 1862, 50 cent note of Confederate bank, Winchester, Va., Feb. 1, 1861, and $2 note of corporation of Richmond, Va. April 19, 1861, from Mrs. A. A. Meredith, Madison, Wisconsin.

Miscellaneous

A wheelbarrow, wheeled from Waterloo, Wisconsin, 25 miles, to Madison, December 6, 1884, by A. J. Roach, on an agreement with A. J. Hutchinson, that he would do so if Cleveland was elected president,—the latter if Blaine was elected—from Mr. Roach; cannon ball that killed Myron Gardiner, of Company B, Second Wisconsin Volunteers, July 18, 1861; he was the first three years' soldier from Wisconsin, killed by the Confederates in the Civil War, 1861–1865, deposited by Captain W. H. Harris, of Caledonia, Minnesota; a gun received by the Society from River Falls, Wisconsin, donor and history unknown; a sword, two feet in length, taken from a cannon of the First New Orleans Battery at Shiloh, April 7, 1862, from Geo. F. Winter, of Baraboo, Wisconsin, formerly of the Fourteenth Wisconsin Infantry; specimens of the maro, or covering of the loins, used

by natives of Tahiti, Hawaiian Islands, of both sexes, usually their only garments, from Professor E. S. Holden, Madison, Wisconsin; also from the same, Massachusetts *Daily Gazette* and Boston *News Letter,* May 30, 1771; the Saltillo, Mexico, *Picket Guard,* April 14, 1848; a relic of Mexican War, from Hon. L. W. Barden, Portage, Wisconsin; a Mexican newspaper, February 9, 1844, Monterey, Mexico; *American Pioneer* of April 19 and May 2, 1847, and Washington (D. C.) *National Republican,* August 3, 1862, from Mrs. A. A. Meredith.

Antiquities.—Stone gorget, green variegated, six and a half inches long, fine specimen, found in town of Lavalle, Sauk County, Wisconsin, in 1884, plowed up on new unbroken land, from B. G. Parrot, Lavalle, Wisconsin; large stone spear, fine specimen, four by ten inches, plowed up on section 16, town 11 north, range 3 west, in town of Kickapoo, Vernon County, Wisconsin, from W. N. Carter, Viroqua, Wisconsin; piece of iron (spike?) taken from Father Marquette's grave, 1877, from Father Edward Jaker, Hancock, Michigan; plaster cast of large stone pipe, having a man's face on the upper side, from W. P. Clarke, Milton, Wisconsin; iron axe cut out of a white oak tree, in town of Fulton, Rock County, Wisconsin, tree two and a half feet in diameter, and found in the center, from Matthew Croft, Edgerton, Wisconsin.

Natural History Specimens.— Fossil clam—large size, found near Edgerton Creek, Rock County, Wis.; two specimens of float copper, found near Edgerton, Wis.; petrified wood and obsidian, from Yellowstone Park, from Matthew Croft, Edgerton, Wis.; mummied cat, found in a building at Stoughton, Wis., between two walls, when taken down in 1883, from Dr. Chas. Sether, Stoughton, Wis.; two specimens of fossil fish, found in digging a well near Appomatox, Potter County, Dakota, fifty feet below the surface, from John Fallows.

Maps and Atlases.—A valuable collection of fifty-two early charts and maps of America, in sheet form, 1650–1778, purchased; forty-five bound volumes of atlases. This makes the total number of maps and atlases in the Library,

957, many of them of great historic rarity and value in tracing early American settlement, and primitive geographical nomenclature. The additions this year, of the seventeenth century, are chiefly of French publications, at a period when France was especially enterprising in her explorations and cartology of Canada and New France, including the region around and west of the Great Lakes—hence their great value to the historian and investigator of the Northwest.

Autographs and Manuscripts.—An autograph document, signed, of John Hart, a signer of declaration of independence, purchased; autograph letters of Edward Everett to W. S. Johnson, dated July 25, Nov. 22, Dec. 9, and Dec. 25, 1830, also two letters of Mrs. Everett to same, Sept. 30 and Dec. 26, 1830, from Mrs. A. A. Meredith; Rev. S. A. Dwinnell's manuscripts of his early history of Walworth Co., Wis., from Mrs. S. A. Dwinnell, Reedsburg, Wisconsin; deed of land near Dortmund, Westphalia, Germany, on parchment, bearing date 1447, from Carl Klingsholz, Manitowoc, Wisconsin; manuscript record book of claims to land in Milwaukee and other counties in Wisconsin, kept at Milwaukee 1837, from James S. Buck, Milwaukee; manuscript copy of roster of employees of American Fur Co., 1818 and 1819, from D. H. Kelton, U. S. A.; powers of attorney of Elisha Konkapot, of Detroit, Feb. 5, 1837, and Lucy Konkapot of Madison Co., New York, March 18, 1837, to Robert Konkapot, of Green Bay, Wisconsin, to sell certain lands, with certificate of Henry R. Schoolcraft acting superintendent of Indian affairs, Detroit, Mich., from Dr. M. M. Davis, of Baraboo, Wis.

Letter of R. F. Rising of Madison, Wisconsin, dated Oct. 25, 1837, to B. Shakelford of Green Bay, Wisconsin, in regard to a survey of road from Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, to Madison; a letter from Franklin Hatheway, of Astor, Wisconsin, to Hon. J. D. Doty, relative to a survey at Madison, Wisconsin, and of a route from Madison to Milwaukee, via Fox Lake, dated Oct. 5, 1837, with receipts for work performed; also receipts of Eben Peck, of Madison, to F. Hatheway for board, Sept. 14, 1837; R. F. Rising and Hiram Penoyer to

same for surveying, September 19, 1837, from Charles Doty, Alton, Ill.

Besides the usual Library work of the year, the sixth volume of the *Library Catalogue* is nearly through the press. It not only shows the steady growth of the Library, but proves a ready guide to all students and investigators in their researches after truth and knowledge. The removal of the Library into our new quarters has been a tedious and laborious work—yet one, in its accomplished results, most gratifying to all interested in such a collection of literature in all its diversified branches.

We can but record, with sincere expression of regret, the death, within the year, of two of our worthy associates and coadjutors, O. M. Conover, LL. D., who has been officially connected with the Society, and one of its most intelligent and unflagging workers ever since the Society has had an existence, and whose career and worth are deservedly set forth in this volume; and the venerable Mr. Isaac Lyon, in his ninetieth year, who has for nearly fourteen years served as cabinet-keeper for the Society voluntarily, as a labor of love. He will long be kindly remembered by many thousands of the people of our State for his unwearied attentions in exhibiting to them the various objects of curiosity and interest in the cabinet.

Jean Nicolet

By F. X. Garneau and J. B. Ferland, with notes by Benjamin Sulte[1]

[From the *Journal de Quebec*, April 20, 1854. This and the succeeding articles have been translated from the French by Hon. Horace Rublee.]

Mr. Editor:—Your readers should thank Mr. Ferland for the publication of his *Notes on the Registers of Notre Dame of Quebec.* It diverts us from our political discussions, and carries us back towards the glorious times when our fathers were laying the foundations of a new empire. I shall nevertheless venture some remarks on the danger of exaggeration. These remarks came into my mind as I read what Mr. Ferland reports of Jean Nicolet,[2] a *coureur de bois,* and later an Indian interpreter. In his first function, Nicolet belonged to that class of men concerning whom the complaints of the chiefs of the colony were never exhausted. They were indeed of a kind *outside of law,* and irrepressible. They were encountered everywhere from Hudson's Bay to Lake Superior.

Mr. Shea, in his *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi,* has fallen into an error through preconceived ideas, though with a purpose very laudable, as I admit. It suffices

[1] This trio of antiquaries are confessedly among the ablest who have made investigations into the early history of New France; and this discussion by such distinguished writers regarding the primitive history of Wisconsin, well merits preservation in the *Collections* of our Society. Reference to it and to Mr. C. W. Butterfield's work on Nicolet, not then issued, but which subsequently appeared, is made in *Wis. Hist. Colls.* viii, p. 188. L. C. D.

[2] In Nicolet's time there were no *coureurs de bois.* It was only after 1667, or even 1670, that this class began to appear. Nicolet was directly under the orders of Champlain.—B. Sulte.

to read in the *Relations des Jesuites,* and the manuscripts in the Library of the *Societé Littéraire* of this city, and in that of the Canadian parliament, what is there found touching geographical discoveries, to be able to appreciate at its just value the part of each in the extension made year by year to the limits of New France.[1]

Father Vimont, superior of the Jesuits of Canada from 1639 to 1645, and charged in that capacity with preparing the relations of his subordinates (*ses Pères*) reports, according to Mr. Shea himself, "that the Sieur Nicolet, who penetrated farthest into those distant countries, says that if he had gone three days more up a great river that leads out of Green Bay, he would have reached the 'Great Waters.'" It was thus the savages designated the Mississippi. The river that empties into Green Bay is the Fox River, the source of which is near that of the Wisconsin, which runs in an opposite direction, and falls into the Mississippi.

According to this, Nicolet did not even reach the Wisconsin; but, assuming the most liberal interpretation, I will admit that this traveler ascended the Fox to its source, that he re-crossed the high lands that separated that river from the Wisconsin, and that he descended the latter within three days distance of the Mississippi.[2]

But this does not mean that he discovered or saw that river. It was doubtless on the report of the Indians that he estimated that he was at that distance from the grand tributary of the ocean, glorified under the name of the Great Waters by the natives, who for a long time had announced it to the French.*

In such matters, precise evidence is demanded; and that cited in favor of Nicolet proves that he did not go to the Mississippi, though Mr. Shea takes it upon himself to assert

[1] For the discoveries of Champlain, and those of Nicolet, see my *Mélanges*, pp. 423–425.—B. Sulte.

[2] We have as yet found no proof that Nicolet had seen the Wisconsin River.—B. Sulte.

* The natives could not have announced the existence of the Mississippi "for a long time," since all that had occurred before 1634 is condensed in what I have said of it, pp. 420, 427, 428 of my *Mélanges*.—B. Sulte.

the contrary. I share the opinion of Bancroft and other historians who have written on this subject.

For the rest I am convinced that if Nicolet had reached this river in 1639,[1] the sensation would have been as great as it was when Joliette and Marquette discovered it in 1673, and that the memory of it would not have been lost at the latter epoch. I do not hesitate either to believe that the two celebrated travelers would never have been willing to have allowed honors to be attributed to them which were not legitimately due them.

Mr. Ferland is then wrong in blushing for having been anticipated in the tardy homage that should be given Nicolet, to whom there always remains the honor of having contributed largely to the extension of our discoveries; but it is known that for want of a nail the horse was lost, and in the present case the point is capital.

F. X. Garneau.[2]

Quebec, 18 April, 1854.

[From the *Journal de Quebec*, 22d April, 1854.]

Sir—In the little corner that I occupy with my *feuilleton* in your *Journal*, I have often felicitated myself at being sheltered from the political tempests that I hear rage above my head. Thus it is with a certain hesitation that I leave the humble earth-surface to mount for an instant to the highest, and I promise to descend from it as soon as possible.

Your number of the 20th inst. contains some observations by M. Garneau, *à propos* of the encomium rendered to Jean Nicolet by Mr. John Gilmary Shea in his work entitled: *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. The disapprobation of M. Garneau seems to relate chiefly to the two following passages: "It is certain that to Nicolet

[1] See my *Mélanges* pp. 435, 436, 439. Garneau speaks constantly without taking into account the difference of the times. Between 1634 and 1673 there is a whole world! (*tout un monde*).—B. Sulte.

[2] Garneau wrote a very good history of Canada, but seldom touches any point in detail.—B. Sulte.

is due the honor of having been the first who reached the waters of the Mississippi. * * * We give a short sketch of the life of a man too little known, although he occupied an important place in the early history of Canada."

"I will admit," says M. Garneau, "that this traveler ascended the Fox River to its source, that he crossed the high lands separating that river from the Wisconsin, and that he descended the latter to within three days' distance of the Mississippi. But that does not mean that he discovered or that he saw that river." Mr. Shea must have reached the same conclusion since he gives to Joliet and Marquette the honor of having discovered the Mississippi (pp. lxxviii and lxxx), and cites the words of P. Vimont, "If he had journeyed (*navigué*) three days," etc.

Mr. Shea remarks, nevertheless, that Nicolet was the first to reach, not the Mississippi, but the *waters* of the Mississippi. Having sailed upon the Wisconsin, a tributary of the Great River, Nicolet was able to say that he had seen the waters of the Mississippi, as an inhabitant of the banks of the river Niagara may say that he sees the waters of the St. Lawrence. Such at least is the sense which I attach to the words of the American writer.

Did Nicolet occupy a sufficiently important place in the early history of Canada that his name should not be forgotten by us?

If we search the annals of New England we shall find there, preciously preserved, the history of men regarded as remarkable, because they first dared to advance fifty or sixty leagues from the sea-coast. With us the name is hardly known of a Frenchman of Canada, who in the first years of the colony, had already penetrated very far into the unknown regions of the West.

Nicolet did not amuse himself, like the English, in groping around the European settlements; embarking upon a frail bark canoe, he ascended the rapids of the Ottawa, penetrated, by means of the small rivers, lakes and portages, as far as Lake Huron, which he crossed, and visited a part of the Lake of Illinois—now Michigan—of Green Bay, where he was environed by restless and unknown tribes; he

pursued his route toward the West, ascended the Fox River, passed by a short portage to the Wisconsin, and thus passed upon the waters that belong to the vast basin of the Mississippi.[1] He rested about forty leagues from the fort of Quebec, after having seen the northern coast of Lake Huron, and a part of the countries which compose the States of Michigan and Wisconsin. This voyage and these discoveries would have sufficed to make the reputation of five or six traders among our neighbors.

The governors had on divers occasions to complain of the *coureurs de bois*; this class nevertheless served to discover the greater part of North America, for our *voyageurs* of the upper countries were the successors and substitutes of the former. If some of these men brought shame upon the French name, others succeeded in establishing the good opinion that the savage tribes long held for all that belonged to France.

The talents and capacity of Nicolet were highly appreciated by the governors, since on three occasions he was charged with negotiating peace between the French and the savages, first with the Iroquois, then with the tribes about Lake Michigan, and, finally, in company with P. Raguenau, with the Iroquois at the fort of Three Rivers.

As an interpreter, he was of the rank of the founders of several of the first families of the country. Charles Le Moyne, since Lord of Longueil, as well as others, acquired their titles of nobility by the services they rendered in this capacity. The handwriting of Nicolet, as well as his nomination to the position of commissaire,[2] which demanded an aptitude for accounts, prove that he had received a good education.

Moreover, his marriage with the daughter of Guillaume Couillard, the title of Honorable given him in several documents, the marriage of his daughter with a member of the

[1] We have no proof of this. Ferland never saw anything on the subject except the text of Père Vimont cited above.—B. Sulte.

[2] Nicolet was never commissaire. See my *Mélanges*, p. 448.—B. Sulte.

noble family of Le Gardeur de Repentigny, show the importance which Nicolet enjoyed in the colony.

I have therefore regretted that a man so generally esteemed in his time, and who rendered such important services to his country, should have remained almost unknown among us. We should not have to express this regret if we had had a number of men like M. Garneau, devoting themselves with ardor and success to the study of the history of Canada.

J. B. F. Ferland, *Priest.*

Note on Nicolet.—I have learned from the president of the Societé Académique, of Cherbourg, France, that the Nicolet family existed in that place during the sixteenth century; and that at the time that our Nicolet was born, there were several branches of the family in and around Cherbourg. There are at the present time no less than thirty-seven families of the Nicolets in the commune of Hainneville alone, a place of nine hundred souls, four miles from Cherbourg, aside from those in Cherbourg and elsewhere. The village of Delamer, which forms a part of Hainneville, has no other inhabitants than the Delamer families—the name of the mother of our Nicolet was Margaret Delamer.

Father Vimont's writings are invaluable. I suspect that he "pumped" Nicolet for information. In one of his annual letters—that of 1642—he nearly declares the fact.—B. Sulte.

DeLignery's Expedition against the Foxes, 1728

By Emanuel Crespel

In the fifth volume of our Society's *Collections*, Father Crespel's account was given as translated by the late Gen. Wm. R. Smith; but as it was not complete, it is deemed proper to give the reverend Father's full text as furnished by the English translation of his travels, published in London in 1797.

Father Crespel was a Flemish missionary, after the order of Recollects. He came to Canada in 1724; and for his narrative of the Fox expedition of 1728, in which he served as a chaplain to the French forces, all lovers of Wisconsin history must feel grateful to him, accompanied with the regret that he had not preserved many more details. On his return to France, the ship on which he sailed was wrecked in November, 1736, on the desert island of Anticosti, on the borders of Labrador, where he and his companions spent the ensuing winter, enduring much suffering and privation. In June following, he returned to Quebec, and to France in 1738. He did not probably long survive, as his work was published under the editorship of his brother, Louis Crespel, first in German, at Frankfort and Leipzig, in 1751, and then an edition in French, at Frankfort, in 1752, and another at Amsterdam, in 1757—thus including the English translation, we have four editions of this little work. L. C. D.

I was drawn, in 1728, from my curacy to go as chaplain to a party of four hundred French, which the Marquis de Beauharnois commanded, and who were to be joined by eight or nine hundred Indians of several nations, particularly Iroquois, who inhabited the south of the river St. Lawrence, between the English and French colonies,* by the Hurons and Nipissings, and the Outawahs, who lived on the lakes and rivers of those names. To these, M. Peset, a priest, and Father Bertonniere, a Jesuit, acted as chaplains. The whole, under the command of M. de Lignerie, were dis-

*Note by the English translator: "M. Crespel does not say what induced the French government of Canada to undertake this expedition; and it cannot escape observation, that this *Christian* priest talks of destroying a whole nation of innocent Indians with great coolness and composure."

patched with orders to destroy a nation of Indians, called by the French the Fox Indians; but in their own language the Outagamies, situated on Lake Michigan, about four hundred and fifty leagues from Montreal.

The Iroquois Indians inhabit the south side of the river St. Lawrence, between the English and French colonies, and are the most powerful, warlike and politic people among the natives of North America. They consist of six confederate nations, and their form of government somewhat resembles that of the Swiss cantons. Many of these Iroquois are settled in the interior of the French colony in villages, are converted, and as submissive to the French government as Indians can be made. They have rendered us good services, particularly in war time.

The Hurons are situated between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario. The Nipissings, to the northeast of Lake Huron.

We set off the 5th of June, 1728, and ascended the great river which bears the name of the Outawahs, and is full of falls and carrying places. We quitted it at Matawan, to enter a river which leads into Lake Nipissing; the length of this river is about thirty leagues, and, like that of the Outawahs, full of falls and carrying places. From this river we entered the lake, whose breadth is about eight leagues; after crossing which, the river of the French carried us quickly into Lake Huron, into which it falls, after having run a course of thirty leagues with great rapidity.

As it was not possible that so many persons could go down these small rivers together, it was agreed, that those who passed down first, should wait for the others at the entrance of Lake Huron, in a place called La Prairie, which is a very fine situation. Here for the first time, I saw a rattlesnake, whose bite is said to be mortal, but none of us received any injury.

The 26th of July we were all assembled together, and I celebrated mass, which I had hitherto deferred. Next day we departed for Michilimakinac, a post situated between the Lakes Huron and Michigan. Although the distance was

one hundred leagues, we ran it in less than six days. Here we remained some time to repair what had been damaged in the falls and carrying places; and here I concentrated two pair of colours, and interred two soldiers who were carried off by fatigue and illness.

Michilimakinac is a post advantageously situated for trade, with three great lakes—Michigan, which is three hundred leagues in circuit; Huron, which is full three hundred and fifty leagues in circumference; and Lake Superior, which is full five hundred leagues round, all three navigable for the largest sort of boats, and the two first, separated only by a small strait, which has water sufficient for small vessels, which can sail, without any obstacle, over Lake Erie, to the post of Niagara.

The 10th of August, we left Michilimakinac, and entered Lake Michigan. As we had contrary winds for two days, our Indians had time to hunt, and they brought in two elks and a caribou, and were generous enough to offer us a part. We made some difficulties in receiving their favor, but they forced us, and told us that since we had shared with them the fatigues of the journey, it was just we should partake of the comforts it had procured, and that they should not esteem themselves men if they did not act thus to their brethren. This answer, which was spoken in French, affected me sensibly. What humanity among those we call savages! and how many should we find in Europe to whom that title might be more properly applied!

The generosity of our Indians deserved a lively sense of gratitude from us. Several times, when we had not been able to find places for hunting, we had been obliged to live on salt meat. The flesh of the elks and caribou removed the distaste we began to entertain for our ordinary food.

The *original,* or elk of Canada, is as large as a horse, and has horns as long as those of a stag, but thicker and more inclining over the back, the tail short, and his skin a mixture of light gray and reddish black. The caribou is not so tall and shaped more like the ass, but equals the stag in swiftness.

The 14th of the same month, we continued our route as far as the strait of Chicagou, and passing from thence to Cape La Mort, which is five leagues, we encountered a gale of wind that drove several of our canoes on shore, who could not double the cape and shelter themselves under it; several were lost, and the men distributed among the other canoes, who by great good fortune escaped the danger.

The 15th we landed among the Malomines, with a view to provoke them to oppose our descent; they fell into the snare and were entirely defeated. These Indians are called by the French Folles Avoines or Wild Oat Indians, probably from their living chiefly on that sort of grain. The whole nation consists only of this village, who are some of the tallest and handsomest men in Canada.

The next day we encamped at the entrance of a river named La Gasparde; our Indians entered the woods and brought back several deer, a kind of game very common in this place, and which supplied us with provisions for some days.

We halted on the 17th from noon to evening, to avoid arriving at the post of La Baye before night, wishing to surprise our enemies, whom we knew to be in company with the Saguis,* our allies, whose village lay near Fort St. Francis. We advanced in the evening, and at midnight reached our fort at the entrance of the Fox River. As soon as we had arrived, Monsieur de Lignerie sent some Frenchmen to the commandant to know for certain if there were any enemies in the village, and being assured there were, he sent all the Indians and a detachment of the French across the river Le Sur, round the habitations, while the rest of the French entered by the direct way. However, we had endeavored to conceal our arrival, the enemies had information, and all the inhabitants escaped except four, who were delivered to our Indians; and they, after having long amused themselves with tormenting them, shot them with arrows.

I was a painful witness of this cruel transaction, and could

* Saguis—Sauks. L. C. D.

not reconcile the brutal pleasure they took in tormenting these unfortunate people, and making them suffer the pain of twenty deaths before they deprived them of life, with the generous sentiments expressed by these same savages a few days ago. I wished to have asked them, if they did not perceive the striking contrast in their conduct, and to point out what I thought reprehensible in their proceeding; but as all our interpreters were on the other side of the river, I was obliged to postpone my enquiries till another time.

After this affair we ascended the Fox River, which is much troubled with rapids, and whose course is nearly forty leagues. The 24th of August we arrived at the village of the Puans Indians, whose name, in their language does not bear the same signification as in the French, but from their vicinity to the waters, and they may therefore be more properly called the maritime Indians. Our people were well disposed to destroy such men as they should find there, but the flight of the inhabitants saved them, and we could only burn their huts, and destroy the harvest of Indian corn, on which they subsist.

We afterwards crossed the little lake of the Foxes, and encamped at the end. The next day being St. Lawrence, we had mass*, and entered a small river which led us to a marshy ground, on the borders of which was situated the chief settlement of those Indians of whom we were in search. Their allies, the Saguis, had given them notice of our approach; they did not think to wait our arrival, and we found in their village some women only, whom our Indians made slaves, and an old man, whom they burned by a slow fire, without manifesting the least repugnance for committing so barbarous an action.

This cruelty appeared to me more atrocious than that they had exercised on the four Saguis. I seized this opportunity to satisfy my curiosity on the subject I before mentioned. Among our Frenchmen we had one who spoke the Iroquois language, whom I desired to tell the Indians that I was sur-

* Note by English translator: "How easy does this pious missionary pass from havoc and destruction to devotion."

prised to see them with so much apparent pleasure inflict such a cruel death on an unfortunate old man; that the laws of war did not extend so far, and that it appeared to me that such barbarity gave the lie to all those good principles they pretended to entertain towards mankind. One of the Iroquois answered, that if any of them should fall into the hands of the Foxes and Saguis, they would experience still more cruel treatment, and that it was a custom with them to treat their enemies as they should be treated by them if they were taken.

I wished much to have been acquainted with the language of this Indian, to have shown him what was blamable in his answer; but was obliged to content myself with desiring my interpreter to represent to him, that nature and religion still more required that we should be humane towards each other, and that moderation should guide us in all our actions; that pardon, and a forgiveness of injuries, were virtues, the practice of which was expressly commanded by heaven; that I conceived it would not be safe for them to spare the Fox or Saguis Indians, but that if they put them to death, it should be as foes to their nation, and not as private enemies; that such revenge was criminal, and that to exercise such excesses as they had toward the five unfortunate men they had put to death with such cruel torments, in some degree justified the barbarity with which they reproached their enemies; that the laws of war only permitted them to take the life of their enemy, and not to glut themselves with his blood, or drive them to despair by destroying them in any other way than by combat and arms! In fine, that they ought to set the Foxes and Saguis that example of moderation which is the proof of a good heart, and which makes the Christian religion and those who profess it, so much loved and admired.

I do not know whether my interpreter explained my sentiments clearly, but the Indian could not be brought to confess that he acted on a false principle. I was proceeding to urge further reasons, when orders were given to advance against the last post of the enemy, which was situated on a little river which runs into another river that communi-

cates with the Mississippi. We did not find any Indians, and as we had no orders to advance farther, we employed some days in laying waste the country, to deprive the enemy of the means of subsistence. The country hereabouts is beautiful, the land fertile, the game plenty and good, the nights were very cold, but the days extremely hot.

After this expedition, if such a useless march deserves that name, we prepared to return to Montreal, from which we were now four hundred and fifty leagues distant. In our passage, we destroyed the fort at La Baye, because being so near the enemy, it would not afford a secure retreat to the French who must be left as a garrison. The Fox Indians, irritated by our ravages, and convinced that we should scarcely make a second visit into a country where we were uncertain of meeting with any inhabitants, might have blockaded the fort, and perhaps have taken it. When we arrived at Michilimakinac, our commander gave permission to every one to go where he pleased. We had now three hundred leagues to travel, and our provisions would have fallen short if we had not exerted ourselves to make a quick passage. The winds favored us in crossing Lake Huron; but we had continual rains while we were on the river of the French, while crossing Lake Michigan, and on the river Matawan, which ceased as we entered the river of the Outawahs. I cannot describe the swiftness with which we descended this great river, of which imagination only can form an idea. As I was in a canoe with some men whom experience had taught how to descend the rapids, I was not one of the last at Montreal, where I arrived the 28th of September, and remained there till the spring, when I received orders to proceed to Quebec.

French Forts Near the Mouth of the Wisconsin

By James Davie Butler, LL. D.

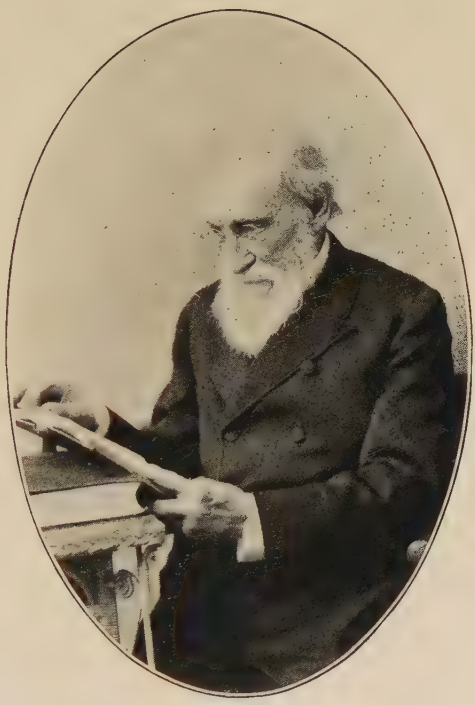
A prominent historian of Wisconsin thus writes: "There was never within the boundaries of Crawford County a French military post of any kind, while France held dominion over this region. No traveler mentions any fortification there. No official French document has ever been discovered giving any account of any fort there. Yet as early as 1820, a map was published by the United States on which is delineated a famous fortification—huge walls with their salient projections, all shown as if some mighty military genius had planned its construction." [1]

Such is the language of a recent historian, who further declares belief in any French fort near Prairie du Chien to be "one of the mock pearls in Wisconsin history." Belief in such a post is dear to me as adding something to the length of our annals, and yet I would not hold to a delusion. The real existence, however, of at least one French military post, near the mouth of the Wisconsin, still seems to me pretty well proved.

The point was one where a stronghold would naturally be built. It was the northern limit of the Illinois tribes, and a starting point for raids against the Iroquois, who had establishments near Chicago.[2] It was the starting point for all expeditions,—either up, down or beyond the Mississippi. On

[1] *History of Crawford County, Wisconsin*, p. 329, edited by C. W. Butterfield, and a paper read before the Madison Literary Club by Mr. Butterfield. S. J. Clarke, the publisher of the *History of Crawford County*, disclaims any share or responsibility for the statements made by Mr. Butterfield. L. C. D.

[2] La Potherie, II, p. 132.



James Davie Butler, 1815-1905

Jeffreys' map of 1776, a line is drawn from Prairie du Chien to Omaha, and inscribed "French route to the Western Indians."

In 1721, in a report to the British king from the governor of Pennsylvania, it was mentioned as one of the three great routes from Canada to the Mississippi,[1] and in subsequent reports, it was remarked, that "since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, the French had greatly increased the number of forts on the rivers which run into the Mississippi."[2]

Concerning Prairie du Chien, Captain Carver, who was there in 1766, thus writes:

"This town is a great mart, where tribes from the most remote branches of the Mississippi annually assemble, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to traders."

This traffic was even then no novelty. It had been going on there four score years before. As early as 1680, La Salle had purposed to send traders to that point.[3]

If, then, French forts were early built anywhere, one might well be looked for at such an emporium as early rose at the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi. But in our primitive period forts abounded. They were common among Indians, even before the coming of the white men.[4]

La Salle on a march usually at night set a rude stockade about his camp.[5] In 1679, having to wait a few days on the St. Joseph for a party of his men, he built a fort at the mouth of the river.[6] In 1682, he built another fort near Memphis, on a bluff, where he halted only six days, and where he expected to make a still shorter sojourn.[7] Nor does his custom of rearing a stronghold wherever he stopped, appear to have been unusual among French pioneers.

Every trading-house was fortified so far as possible. Cadot's, at the Sault, is called a fort, by Carver. The estab-

[1] *Colonial Records of New York*, v, p. 162.
[2] *Colonial History of New York*, ii, p. 608.
[3] Parkman, p. 262.
[4] La Potherie, ii, p. 96; Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 266; Bradbury, *Travels*, 114.
[5] Parkman, p. 398.
[6] *Idem*, p. 149.
[7] *Idem*, p. 277.

lishment of Solomon Juneau, at Milwaukee, bore the same name. Witness a pioneer poem, which runs thus:

> "Juneau's palace of logs was a store and a fort,
> Though surrounded by neither a ditch nor a moat,
> For often this lonely and primitive place,
> Was sorely beset by that blood-thirsty race
> With whom Juneau had mercantile dealings."

Still better may the name fort have befitted the structure which must have arisen for such an *entrepôt* as Prairie du Chien.

Marquette was a man of peace, but his mission-house was palisaded.[1] The Jesuits, though non-combatant black-gowns, in general fortified their missions. They also taught the Indian how to improve his strongholds, by changing circles to squares, and adding flanking towers at the corners.[2] Thus improved aboriginal stockades were not a whit inferior to the fort, at Prairie du Chien, as shown on the United States map of 1820.

The representation of the fort on that map, which has been derided by our anti-fort investigator, is a square with four smaller squares at its corners. This was the conventional sign or printer's mark for every military work without any reference to its magnitude.

That there was really a French fort near the junction of the Wisconsin with the Grand River, appears the more likely when we consider the *nature* of such posts. What was it? Lewis and Clark, on Sept. 22, 1804, came to what they call a French fort, almost due west of Prairie du Chien, and near Council Bluffs. In their notice of it they say: "The establishment is sixty or seventy feet square, picketed in with red cedar, with sentry-boxes at two of the angles. The pickets are thirteen and one-half feet above the ground."[3] Soon afterwards, Pike, going up the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien, records that the fort at Sandy Lake was one hundred feet square, with two bastions pierced for small arms

[1] Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 99, 238; Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 398.
[3] Lewis & Clark's *Travels*, 1, p. 100; Gass's *Journal*, p. 42.

—the pickets about one foot in diameter, and squared on the outside.[1]

It was no long labor to build such a defence. In 1727, the missionary, Father Guignas, voyaging up the Mississippi, passed Prairie du Chien, and made an establishment on the north shore of Lake Pepin. He wrote in his diary: "The day after landing we put our axes to the wood. On the fourth day following, the fort was entirely finished." [2]

On the thirteenth of March, 1682, La Salle's men, near the mouth of the Arkansas, "threw up a rude fort of felled trees in less than an hour." [3]

Lest it should be thought that Prairie du Chien is too far west for us to expect to discover a French fortification there, let it be noted that before 1724, Fort Orleans had been built hundreds of miles up the Missouri, near the mouth of Grand River.[4]

On the whole, every one familiar with the habits of French pioneers in the wide West, will admit that many forts must have been thrown up by them in emergencies, and then have perished without their names ever being put on record. "They had no poet, and they died."

Even in the absence of all evidence then, it would appear a bold assertion that there was never any French military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin, unless "some official French document can be discovered giving an account of such work, or some traveler mentions it."

But is all evidence of a French fort at Prairie du Chien lacking? By no means.

In the *American State Papers* regarding Public Lands[5] we read that on February 25th, 1818, Hon. George Robertson, from the committee on public lands, reported to the house of representatives, that "in the year 1755 the gov-

[1] Pike's *Travels*, App. p. 38.
[2] Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, p. 172.
[3] Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 278.
[4] Davis & Durrie's *Hist. Missouri*, pp. 11, 12; Dr. John Mitchell's *Contest in America*, p. 196.
[5] Vol. iii, p. 341.

ernment of France established a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin."

The report to Congress was based on information given by a government agent who had visited Prairie du Chien, and gathered up testimony on the spot. According to the oldest inhabitants, some of whom had resided there well nigh from the close of the Revolutionary War, it was only during that contest that the French fort was burned.

It is argued by our skeptical annalist that this fort was an ordinary log-house. It seems to me more properly named a fort. It was so named by almost everybody known to have been acquainted with those who had seen it. Among its stores were no less than three hundred and sixty bales of fur, and as a rule every fur factory was fortified. It was defended by a body of armed men, as forts are wont to be.

But, says our skeptic, it was built on the site of a prehistoric fort, and the works of mound-builders passed for those of the French. Such a site was fitly preferred, and such works became French when used as foundations by the French, and incorporated into works of their own. Baptize an old Jupiter, and he becomes Jew Peter straight-way.

Early tradition at Prairie du Chien reported a French fort burned there. Skeptics concerning the existence of such a fort hold that this tradition grew out of the burning of a certain log-house there. But there is no evidence that the house in question was burned at all. Their only witness in the matter simply says that certain bales of fur which had been stored there were burned. The store-house was occupied by friends of those who are supposed to have set it on fire. Such an incendiary supposition is unreasonable. Or the log-house may have been fortified, and so styled a fort.

J. Long, traveling in 1778, north of Lake Superior, says: "The house of Shaw, a trader on Lake Manontoye, might very properly be styled a fort, being secured by high pickets."[1]

But evidence is at hand of French forts near Prairie du Chien before 1755.

[1] Long's *Travels*, p. 65.

Early in the eighteenth century, the Indians of the Northwest, as the Canadian Colonial Company were informed, were endeavoring to open commerce with the English on the lower Mississippi. Thus the directors of this company were led in 1701 to dispatch agents to Callières, the Canadian governor, in Montreal, with a plan to thwart this trade. This plan consisted in establishing posts at the mouth of the Ohio, on the Wisconsin, and farther up the Mississippi among the Sioux. It was argued, that if the Indians found in these places something to satisfy their needs, and the French whom they loved, they would abandon the thought of going among strangers. The necessity and usefulness of such establishments were clear to the governor, and though he felt forbidden by a royal order to license their organization, yet he declared some such measure to be urgently demanded, and the authorities in France were so informed.[1]

They may have followed his advice. But there is reason to think that even before the opening of the eighteenth century, forts had been erected by the French, near Prairie du Chien.

Regarding an earlier post there, one of my authorities is La Potherie, who, before the year 1702, had completed a work in four volumes concerning New France. The portion concerning Canada he wrote first, and that from personal knowledge, and desired to penetrate six hundred leagues into the interior. "Lacking health and leisure for such an enterprise, he made the most careful inquiries," as the missionary Bobe, his contemporary, testifies "from the Indian chiefs who came from all quarters to Montreal to dispose of their furs, and was informed about whatever he relates with the utmost accuracy and thoroughness, by Nicholas Perrot, who, for more than forty years before, had been the principal actor in all that had taken place among the aborigines of the Far West."[2]

The narrative of La Potherie is that [in 1685?[3]] the Mi-

[1] Margry, v., pp. 175, 362.
[2] La Potherie, iv., p. 268.
[3] Tailhan, p. 303.

amis, whose villages lay a few leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, came, forty strong, to Green Bay where Nicholas Perrot had arrived as governor of the Northwest. "They begged him to set up his establishment on the Mississippi, and near the Wisconsin, in order that they could sell their furs there.[1]

For gaining his consent they brought him presents, a beautiful specimen of lead from their region—and each of the forty gave him four beaver skins.[2]

The Miamis had undertaken this embassy because they had previously been forced to sell peltry cheap, and pay dear for French goods to the Pottawatomies, who had hitherto been their middlemen. The result was that Perrot agreed to establish himself—within twenty days—just where they desired him—a little below the Wisconsin.[3] In accordance with this promise, "the establishment of Perrot was made below the Wisconsin, in a situation very strong against the assaults of neighboring tribes."[4]

The fact that the establishment of Perrot was "fixed in a situation that was very strong against the assaults of neighboring tribes," indicates that it stood in a dangerous place, and that, therefore, it must have been fortified. When we expect a burglar, we bar the door.

At this post, six sub-tribes of the Miamis gathered when the ice in the rivers would bear them, and made a treaty with Perrot. That officer was soon called north near the Chippewa River, and played the part of grand pacificator between the Sioux and more southern tribes. He returned to his southern establishment, gave orders to other tribes who were waiting for him there, and he also discovered and tested the lead mine, twenty-one leagues above the Moningouena, which for ages after was called by his name.[5]

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[1] Vol. ii, p. 251.

[2] La Potherie, ii, 260.

[3] On leur promit de s'établir dans vingt jours au dessous de la rivière d'Ouiskonche.

[4] L'etablissement de Perrot se fit au dessous d'Ouiskonche, dans une situation fort avanteuse contre les insults des nations voisines.—La Potherie ii, p. 260.

[5] La Potherie, ii, p. 270.

Again, the mouth of the Wisconsin was the point where he agreed to meet different tribes in the month when a truce he had made between them would expire. This place was his strategic base of operations, launching the northern tribes against the southern Iroquois.

It would not be strange if no further notice should occur in Perrot's career of his post at the mouth of the Wisconsin; for that officer, soon after the council, was transferred to a post on the Marameg, on the east of Lake Michigan,[1] between the Black and Grand rivers.

It so happens that Perrot's post on the Wisconsin, in the narrative of La Potherie, is called "establishment," and not fort. Yet it was no doubt fortified, not only as all trading factories were wont to be, but more strongly than some others, being of special military as well as commercial importance. Moreover, the word, "establishment" as used by La Potherie to describe Perrot's Wisconsin post, is explained by Perrot's French editor, Tailhan, to mean fort. Concerning Perrot's return from the land of the Sioux to the mouth of the Wisconsin, Tailhan says, that returning "from his old fort he regained the *fort* which he had recently erected."[2] The old fort of Perrot, and even the post on Starved Rock—the Illinois Gibraltar—are each also called by La Potherie an "establishment." The phrases already quoted from La Potherie, that the establishment of Perrot "was in a very advantageous situation as against the attacks of neighboring tribes," is also a proof that it was a fortified post.

The early existence of a fort near the mouth of the Wisconsin, is further attested by early maps. At that point we read the words *Fort St. Nicholas* inscribed on the map prepared in 1688 by J. B. Franquelin for presentation to the French king. This work, made in Quebec by the king's hydrographer, was certified by the contemporary Canadian governor as "very correct," and is pronounced by Parkman the most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of

[1] Perrot, p. 276; Tailhan, p. 328.

[2] De son ancien fort Perrot regagna le fort, qu'il avait récemment élevé. See Perrot, p. 328.

North America.[1] Why should we reject its testimony—especially after observing it to be in keeping with the history of La Potherie, which was indubitably based on conversations with Perrot himself? What name would Perrot have been more likely to bestow on his fort than that of his patron saint, which was Nicholas?

No map-maker was ever more eminent than the Frenchman D'Anville (1697–1782). He is credited by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* "with a complete geographical reform—banishing the custom of copying blindly from preceding maps, and never fixing a single position without a careful examination of all authorities. By this process he detected many serious errors in the works of his most celebrated predecessors, while his own accuracy was soon attested by travelers and mariners who had taken his works as their guide. His principles also led him to another innovation, which was that of omitting every name for which there existed no sufficient authority. Vast spaces which had before been covered with cities, were thus suddenly reduced to a perfect blank—but it was speedily perceived that this was the only accurate course."

Reading these words, and a still higher eulogy of D'Anville in Gibbon, I was eager to inspect his large map of our Northwest, published in November, 1755. On looking at the mouth of the Wisconsin, as there delineated, I read words which I cannot but translate *Old French Fort of St. Nicholas*—"Ancien Fort Français de S. Nicholas."

In 1755, M. Bellin published at Paris *Remarks on a map of North America, between the 28th and the 72nd degrees of latitude, and a Geographical Description of those Regions.*[2] One of his remarks is in these words: "Nicholas Perrot built a fort named St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Wiscon-

[1] The title of the map is: *Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale dressée par J. B. Franquelin dans* 1688 *pour être presentée a Louis XIV.*

[2] *Remarques sur la carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale comprise entre le* 28e *et le* 72e *degré de Latitude, avec une Description Geographique de ces parties.* 4to Paris, 1755, pp. 131, Didot. This map is in the library of Harvard University.

sin." Two years later at that point the Amsterdam atlas of Covens and Mortier shows the words *Ancien Fort.*[1]

In addition to what has been adduced from La Potherie and Franquelin, the testimony of a noted English map-maker should be considered. In 1762, a map entitled *"Canada and the northern part of Louisiana,* by Thomas Jeffreys, geographer to his Majesty" [George III] was published. On this map, at the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi, we read these words: *"Fort St. Nicholas destroyed."* Again, in the *Geography* published by Bankes in London about a century ago, a folio of 992 pages, in a map opposite page 464, I find at the mouth of the Wisconsin the words "Fort St. Nicolas." There is never much smoke without fire, and it is hard to hold the witness of so many a map to be all lies made out of whole cloth.

The considerations which have now been presented may be strongly re-enforced by local traditions and ruins, but they seem to need no confirmation. If they do not enable us to hold fast our faith in any French fort whatever near Prarie du Chien, we must, if consistent, become as skeptical regarding most of our early history as agnostics are regarding religion. I say, then—"Hold the fort! Why not hold the fort?" [2]

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[1] Ms. letter of Judge C. C. Baldwin, of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

[2] Thus good historical authorities point out the establishment of Perrot's Fort St. Nicholas, in 1685, just above the mouth of the Wisconsin, according to Franquelin and D'Anville, or just below, according to La Potherie. It had, very likely, but a brief existence. Another fort was established in 1755, at what is called the Lower Town of Prairie du Chien, the particular locality of which is designated in volume ninth of the *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, pp. 286–91. It may be added, that Dr. Neill, one of the very ablest historical investigators in the Northwest, locates Perrot's establishment of 1685, "at Prairie du Chien"—*Hist. Minnesota,* fourth revised edition, 1882, p. 799. L. C. D.

Taychoperah, the Four Lake Country

By James Davie Butler, LL. D.

The first mention of the name Taychoperah in print which I have been able to discover, dates from 1837. In May of that year, the English traveler, Featherstonhaugh, was shown in Mineral Point, a plan of seven paper cities situated, in his own words, "near Tychoberah [he omits the letter *a* before *y*,] or the Four Lakes." The conjunction *or* is ambiguous. It may imply either that Four Lakes is a translation of the word Taychoperah, or that it is another name of a different signification. It happens to be in my power to remove this ambiguity.

I was informed both that Taychoperah was the collective Indian name for the Four Lakes, and that the name itself also signifies Four Lakes, by Gov. Doty in person, and he was on their shores earlier than any other pioneer of our race save one or two.

But was not Gov. Doty mistaken? Several of our oldest settlers and explorers, notably Messrs. Moses M. Strong, Darwin Clark, and G. P. Delaplaine, as well as Jefferson Davis, never heard the name Taychoperah; and when a witness testified that he saw an Irishman steal a pig, Paddy thought it a good defence to produce two witnesses ready to testify that they did not see him steal the pig.

The statement of Governor Doty, however, tallies with the independent testimony of William Deviese, and of Morgan L. Martin in a recent letter, in which it is also added that the name Taychoperah is a Winnebago word. It is also in keeping with the memory of Simeon Mills, that at the time of his arrivel in Madison the region was called by natives Tayshope. No further witness was needed, and yet I was eager for more—at least, for ascertaining what

part of the word Taychoperah signifies *lake,* and what part *four.* With this view I wrote half a dozen letters, and looked through more volumes in vain; but have at last found what I sought in Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes.* In that work, the Winnebago stands number thirty-three in a synoptical table of leading words in some three score aboriginal tongues; and the Winnebago name for lake is *tahhah,*[1] and the name for four is *tshopiwi.* These elements readily combine in Taychoperah.

Gallatin's book was written half a century ago, and his authority was a Winnebago vocabulary in the Washington War Office, which had been sent thither by an Indian agent named Nicholas Boilvin.[2] We must secure a complete copy of that vocabulary, if extant, which has never been published. Printed in our *Historical Collections,* it will prove a monument more lasting than brass or marble, of the race who here preceded us. It will also be more significant. Language, a bond lighter than air, is yet stronger than iron to draw the earliest ages into acquaintance and communion with the latest.

Next to indifference to aboriginal language, I now regret my neglect to their legends, but have saved one of them. It is an odd Winnebago myth, told by one of the tribe in 1885, which had its local habitation on Fourth Lake. Many centuries ago two Winnebagoes, near the ford of the Catfish, noticed the track of a coon which they followed. It led them to the cliff, for many years called McBride's Point, and now known as Maple Bluff. It led them to a hollow tree on that promontory. In the tree they discovered a catfish which they had caught. One of the Indians, moved by some superstitious scruple, refused to eat the fish; but the

[1] P. 334.

[2] Boilvin became Indian agent at Prairie du Chien before 1814, and continued so until his death in 1824.—*Wis. Hist. Colls.,* ii, p. 122; iii, p. 273; ix, p. 286. We owe his list of Winnebago words to Humboldt, who urged the importance of such collections in a letter to Gallatin. Gallatin induced the secretary of war to order Indian agents to send such vocabularies to Washington. Inquiries at Washington thus far fail to discover this precious vocabulary of Boilvin.

other, being very hungry, made a hearty meal on his capture—indeed, devoured it altogether. But his appetite was no sooner satisfied than he became fearfully thirsty. He betook himself to the springs; but the more he drank the more thirsty he grew. His agony became so intense that in desperation he waded into Fourth Lake. Then behold a new wonder! As soon as the water rose above his middle his thirst ceased, but returned the moment he ventured where the lake was more shallow. The truth was he had become a fishified man—and was never known to draw near the shore again. Strange noises, however, heard on the bluff, were for ages regarded by the Red Men as made by their fishified brother—at midnight beating his war drum in the deep water off Maple Bluff. The last of these nocturnal manifestations was coincident with the first settlement of whites in the Maple Grove.

How early the aboriginal name had been translated into Four Lakes by our pioneers, I can not ascertain. In 1817, the name "Four Lakes" was already in use. In that year, Maj. S. H. Long, in the midst of a voyage up the Mississippi, in a six-oared skiff, to the Falls of St. Anthony, writes, in a volume first published in 1860: "Rock River in high water is navigable about three hundred miles to what are called the Four Lakes." The name must then be older than 1817, albeit it is not set down on Melish's large map, five feet by three, of the year before. It is not unlikely that the word Four Lakes will turn out to be a translation of the old French name. Rock River certainly is, appearing on our old maps (1750) as *Rivière de la Roche*. Rock River was called by the Algonquins Sinsepe, and by the Winnebagoes Weroshanagra. Both these Indian terms have the same meaning with the English name. As the whites adopted an aboriginal name for the river, it is not unlikely that they obtained from the same source their collective name for the group of lakes on its head waters.

Although the name Four Lakes was mentioned by Long in 1817, it may not have been much used. In the minute account of his march in 1823, in a direct line from Chicago to Prairie du Chien, striking Rock River at the mouth of

the Cottonwood or Kishwaukee, Long says nothing about the Four Lakes.[1] Nor is the name mentioned by Morse, father of the telegraphic inventor, who in 1820 was at Prairie du Chien, and there heard from Law, an Indian trader, that the Rock River country abounded in small lakes, one of them called Koshkonong.

No one of the names by which we now designate the Four Lakes can be traced back any further than 1849. In that year Frank Hudson, a surveyor, suggested the names Mendota and Monona, the former being said to signify *great*, and the latter *beautiful*. These names appeared so proper that they soon came into common use. About six years later, Waubesa meaning *swan*, and Kegonsa meaning *fish*, were proposed by Lyman C. Draper. In 1855, on February 14th, a bill passed the Legislature, legalizing all these Four Lake names.

It is pleasant to know that the meanings assigned to the present names of the Four Lakes, rest, in part at least, on good authority. Mendota really signifies Great Lake in Dakota, a tongue of the same family with Winnebago. In the excellent Dakota dictionary by the Missionary Riggs, *mde* is the word for lake, and *ota* for great. The primitive meaning of *mde* is probably water, for the two elements when combined often mean a confluence. Thus the meeting of the St. Peter's River with the Mississippi, was called Mendota by the Dakotas.

The word Monona I have sought in a good many Indian vocabularies without success, yet I still trust Mr. Hudson had reason to say that its import is *beautiful*. No word whatever for beautiful was set down in the list of words which the government agent among the Winnebagoes drew up by order of the war department.[2]

In Chippewa, Wabese or Waubesie is the name of a swan, and Kigonsee, for fish in general. Dr. Draper's authority is

[1] Long's *Travels*, 1, p. 184.

[2] The best Winnebago scholar known to me, says that *Monona* in that tongue means *lost*, and then as things are so often lost through stealing, its chief meaning was stolen.

the *Miscellanies* of Col. De Peyster,[1] who was the British officer in command at Mackinaw in 1774 and five years after. This work was published anonymously, but the author wrote his name in a copy which he presented to Lady Dungannon, and which has been for more than thirty years treasured by Dr. Draper. One other copy of this work is known to be extant in America, and one abroad.

The United States survey of the Four Lakes was not executed till 1839. The officer who performed this work, Captain Cram, of the engineers, speaks of them as then well known by the numbers of one, two, three and four. The official figures respecting Fourth Lake, are: Length, six miles, breadth four, area fifteen and sixty-five one-hundredths miles, circumference nineteen miles and one-fourth.

Five years before this date, the government land survey took place, and the surveyor marked the lakes on his plot, "First, Second, Third and Fourth," as if their names were then, in 1834, as well established as that of Rock River itself. On Chandler's map, however, which was made in Galena, only five years earlier, in 1829, the lakes have no numbers, although there are several inscriptions about them, as "Fine farming land around these lakes," "Canoe portage two hundred yards," "Winnebago village," etc.

No record has met my eye as to why the numeration of the Four Lakes began from the south rather than from the north. Seeking for the reason may be thought as vain a search as that for the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. Yet that reason seems to me clear. Exploration has usually been made by ascending rivers from their mouths and their peculiarities, if recurring in a series, are naturally classed in the order of discovery. Thus, on the Nile, the cataracts, as you go up that river, are numbered before you reach Khartoum from first to sixth. Accordingly, I am inclined to think the first English-speaking pioneers who came upon the Four Lakes, were acquainted with the custom of numbering up stream and followed it, no matter from what quarter they had, in fact, approached

[1] Vol. i, p. 274.

those waters. In 1829, a treaty was concluded with the Winnebagoes, in which the water now known as Fourth Lake is mentioned. It is called, however, "the most northern of the four lakes," as if it was not yet known by its number.

It is a pity that our pioneers designated the Four Lakes by numbers. If they had not, we should now know their original Indian names, and the meaning of those names. Dead Lake was not numbered, and so J. A. Noonan, a land-hunter here in 1837, heard its name as Wingra, and ascertained that Wingra means duck.[1] We may fairly conclude that but for usurping numbers Mr. Noonan would have heard the aboriginal appellations of all the Four Lakes, and would have transmitted them, as he did Wingra, to the art preservative of all arts.

The birth-year of Madison is commonly considered to have been 1837; but fully five years earlier, there was at least one house built here, and that by a French builder. In 1832, on the 15th of October, two deserters from Fort Winnebago were arrested near what we call Johnson street, at the trading-house of a Frenchman, Oliver Armel.

Armel's christian name is printed "Louis" in the books; but I write it Oliver on the authority of Simeon Mills. His testimony is more credible than any book, for he was the justice to whom Armel afterwards came for marriage, and he heard him called Oliver for years.[2]

Armel was in the Four Lake country at least as early as 1829. In August of that year, in passing Third Lake, he

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[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 410.

[2] In Dr. Chapman's sketch, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, 347, the name Louis Armel is given, followed by Durrie's, and Park's *Histories* of Madison. In the treaty at Prairie du Chien, in 1829, thirty years before Dr. Chapman wrote, we find the orthography "Oliver Armell," whose two children, Catharine and Oliver, each received a section of land from the Winnebagoes—evidently because their mother was of that tribe. At the treaty with the Pottawatomies at Chicago, in Sept. 1833, a claim of $300 was allowed to "Oliver Emmell." De La Ronde, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 360, writes "Oliver Arimell;" and Noonan, in same volume, p. 410, has it "Armell." The *Illustrated History of Dane County*, gives the name as "Oliver Emell," pp. 367, 369, 402.

saw a horse that had been stolen by Indians two weeks before, from Major Deviese at his Diggings in Exeter. On his was to the place where he then lived, which was near Beloit, he gave the Major such information as enabled him to recover his horse. He had come from Fort Winnebago to inform the Indians of a council to be held at that Fort on the twelfth of August.

In 1836 Armel was still a resident on the site of Madison, and joined John de la Ronde who had come from Portage to buy deer skins, and seven other Frenchmen in celebrating the fourth of July.[1] Independence day, then, was here first commemorated by eight foreigners. The next year Armel was living on the east shore of First Lake.

The written story of Armel as established within the limits of Madison, we owe to Dr. Chapman.[2] He seems to have derived it from James Halpin, one of the soldiers who arrested the deserters, and who was years afterwards an employé in the capitol.

The soldiers had run away from the fort in order to buy rum, and, as their post was forty miles distant, could hardly have known about Armel's saloon, had it not been an establishment of some permanence. Another fact points the same way. Five hundred Indians had resorted to the same point with the thirsty soldiers, and that for the same purpose.

In some cities the first thing built has been a temple, or altar, or palace, or hospital, or fort; but our first building was a grog-shop—a humiliating confession—albeit a thousand places must make the same. One is reminded of Darwinians tracing man up, or down, to the monkey.

An American cent of 1798, and several Spanish silver coins, picked up in 1880 in Sorenson's garden, may have been lost by the intoxicated soldiers, and possibly mark the very spot where Armel had fixed his market with the aborigines.[3]

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[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 360.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv., p. 347.
[3] Madison *State Journal*, April 26, 1880.

It is noteworthy that our earliest knowledge of the Madisonian locality is connected with a military establishment. Capt. Low and the privates who there seized the runaways, came from a United States post.

The relation of the army to the progress of settlement has not been appreciated. In 1883, when the Northern Pacific was opened, army officers in the wide West bitterly complained to me that everybody was extolled to the skies except the military.

"Yet," said Gen. Morrow, chief marshal at Portland, "the army downward from Capts. Lewis and Clark, in 1804, explored and conquered the whole country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. The army has surveyed routes, constructed military roads, protected railroad engineers and workmen, given them medicines, surgeons, refuge in forts; in every way it has been an entering wedge—sword and shield to civilians. Its emblem is St. George slaying the dragon."

A similar boast might be made by military men regarding the founding of Wisconsin. Government forts heralded its birth, and cradled its infancy. In 1816, forts were established at Chicago and Prairie du Chien, the next year at Green Bay, in 1819 at Rock Island, in 1822 near St. Paul, and in 1828, at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Thus strongholds and soldiers, north, south, east and west, were pillars of cloud by day and of fire by night, to guide, cheer, and save pioneers into the *terra incognita* of Wisconsin.

The frontier services of the army have been undervalued; but the fault may lie with frontier officers. Had half those gentlemen been as careful to write out their experiences as Lewis and Clark were, even when drenched with rain, or when ink was freezing, the world would have known by heart the merits of the military. The pen is mightier than the sword.

Armel was a fur-trader. What but furs could the Indians bring him which he could send to the whisky market, and obtain the supplies he most needed for sale? But the furs which Armel sought must always have abounded in Madisonian regions; and one Frenchman, Jean Nicolet, had pene-

trated to Wisconsin in quest of furs as early as 1634. There is then nothing incredible—perhaps nothing improbable—in the assertion, that some Frenchmen must have reached Madison and built fur-factories there a century ago, or a century before Armel arrived there. That point must have been the more attractive, thanks to fish from the lake, sugar-trees on their shores, and a short portage by way of Pheasant Creek or Branch to the Wisconsin River. Canoes often needed no portage between those waters, as Gov. Dodge was informed.

Regarding the attractiveness of the Four Lake country to Frenchmen long ago, I have met with an unexpected fact which countenances my theory, that Frenchmen made their way to this nook of paradise at a very early date. Since commencing this paper, I have fallen in with the name of one Frenchman who was no doubt on the Four Lakes before Armel was born, and possibly made his home there. This man's name was Le Sellier, the French for Saddler, an old French *engagé*, who was enlisted by Maj. Long as a guide in 1823 from Chicago to Prairie du Chien, "because he had lived over thirty years with the Indians, had taken a Winnebago wife, and settled on the head waters of Rock river." Le Sellier's dwelling is as likely to have been on Mendota as on Koshkonong [1]—and that one hundred years ago. It is more than sixty years since he served as Long's guide, and he had already been in this country more than thirty years. In the lowest deep I hope for a lower deep.

But, however it may have been with French adventurers, no man with Anglo-Saxon blood has been discovered to have planted himself in the Four Lake country so early as the Frenchman Armel, and few are known to have traveled it before his era.

The first of those few, so far as I know, was Ebenezer Brigham, the earliest known Yankee inhabitant of Dane County. The lead mine which he opened in 1828, was near its western boundary. In that same year he made, with two companions, an expedition to Portage. The object of this

[1] Keating, i., p. 175.

journey was to ascertain whether he could not export lead, as well as procure the flour and other things he needed, to better advantage in Portage than in Galena. His route thither, that is to Fort Winnebago, ran to the north-west of Fourth Lake, and he obtained from the army sutler a modicum of bread, pork and powder. His return course was more southerly, so as to strike the Indian trail which ran between Third and Fourth lakes, crossing both Capitol and the University hills. Mr. Brigham's visit to Portage must have been late in 1828, for the fort there was not established till the 7th of October in that year. Possibly, however, his discovery of the Madisonian site did not occur till the year following, 1829. His account-books show that his mining began on June 23rd, 1828.

He made the following statement as early as 1845, to H. A. Tenney, who has furnished it to me in writing: "He reached the hill on which Madison is mainly located, on the afternoon of the day he left the Fort and set up his tent of blankets within the limits of the present Capitol park, near, as he pointed out to me, the eastern gate-way, as nearly as he could recall the spot. The site was at the time an open prairie, on which grew a few dwarf oaks, while thickets covered the lower grounds. Struck with the strange beauty of the place, he predicted that a village or a city would in time grow up there, and it might be the capital of a State. This, he informed me, was in May, eight years before Wisconsin became a Territory in 1836."

It is easy to see why the Four Lake country was not earlier visited by whites, although the Wisconsin River downward from the voyage of Marquette had been a thoroughfare. The truth is, that, at first, canoes were the only conveyances known. It was some generations after Marquette's mission, before the Indians of the North-West obtained ponies of the Spaniards. Wisconsin wayfarers, who had no canoes, afterward walked near the old water-route; and there, too, the first military road from the Fort at Portage to Prairie du Chien was laid out.

Mr. Brigham died in Madison, and lies buried in its Forest

Hill cemetery. I love to think of him as closing his eyes on earth amid the lovely lakes he had been perhaps the first of his race to discover, thirty-three years before, and as buried on a hill which overlooks the church for building which he gave the first thousand dollars, and the city that, as a member of the Territorial council, he did so much to found. As he was a Puritan Pilgrim, his monument is with special fitness a massive and monolithic obelisk of granite from his native Massachusetts. A gun carried by one of his ancestors in King Philip's War, is among the relics in the Wisconsin Historical Society.

After Brigham's turning aside to the Four Lakes in 1828, I know of no other white visitors till May in the following year. At that time Judge Doty, who had in each of the four previous years passed from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien by water, made the same journey on horseback. His companion was Morgan L. Martin. They had with them a Menomonee Indian guide with a pack-horse, and a young half-blood Menomonee. They were conducted on their return between Second and Third Lakes, and then between Wingra and Third, and so west and north to Portage.[1] They had heard of the lake country, and desired to inspect it.[2]

Here Doty by locating the capital of a future State, was to perpetuate his memory. In Saint Paul's at London, amid

[1] The itinerary of the Doty explorers will always grow in interest. It was as follows: On the east side of Fox River and Lake Winnebago to an Indian village on the present site of Fond du Lac; thence to another such village on Rock River near Waupun; to another on Green Lake prairie; to another on the east side of Third Lake, and so to McCrary's furnace southwest of Blue Mounds. Returning they came from Blue Mounds to Fourth Lake, thence by way of Fort Winnebago to Butte des Morts. Ferried over the Fox River there, and swimming their horses, they followed on the west side of Lake Winnebago the trail to Green Bay. So states a Ms. letter of Morgan L. Martin, in 1885.

[2] Mr. Durrie, in his *History of Madison*, p. 17, supposed that Henry S. Baird came to the site of Madison with Doty and Martin. He must, however, have been misinformed, as I have a statement from Martin himself that Baird was not with him on his first visit to the Four Lakes.

statuary and bas-reliefs without number, I look at nothing so long as at the narrow tablet over the north side-door inscribed with the name of the architect of the pile, and the words which have become world-famous, namely—*"Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice!"*[1] —Reader, if you seek his monument, look around. However carefully Saint Paul's may be guarded from Irish dynamiters, it must at last crumble and tumble, its very stones gray and death-like old; but long after that catastrophe, when strangers here ask for Doty's monument, it will be answer enough to say—*Look around!*

North of Fourth Lake, and south of Third, the Doty band saw Winnebago villages; but none between those waters. Not one white face was met between Green Bay and Blue Mounds.

The next visitor at the site of Madison appears to have been Jefferson Davis. Mr. Davis writes me as follows:

"While on detached service in the summer of 1829, I think I encamped one night about [on] the site of Madison. The nearest Indian village was on the opposite side of the lake. Nothing, as I think, was known to the garrison of Fort Winnebago about the Four Lakes before I saw them. Indeed, sir, it may astonish you to learn, in view of the [now] densely populated condition of that country, that I and the file of soldiers who accompanied me were the first white men who ever passed over the country between the Portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, and the then village of Chicago. Fish and water-fowl were abundant; deer and pheasants less plentiful. The Indians subsisted largely on Indian corn and wild rice. When sent out on various expeditions, I crossed Rock River at different points; but saw no sign of settlement above Dixon's Ferry."[2] That point had been occupied by a white man only one year.

In August, 1829, William Deviese, already mining at Exeter, near the south line of Dane County, in quest of the

[1] It is odd that the last of the Latin words means something in English. It naturally forms four English words, namely—*"Sir-come-spy-see!"*

[2] MS. letter, Beauvoir, Miss., 23d Feb., 1885.

horse stolen from him by Indians, as already mentioned, was near the site of Madison. What he sought he found, on the west side of Third, or the "upper" lake as he terms it—surviving to tell the story in 1885.

Within two years after the Green Bay men came hither prospecting, though not as miners, Abel Rasdall, a Kentuckian, coming from Galena in 1831, commenced his trading adventures around the Four Lakes. His cabin was on First Lake, on the eastern shore, about half a mile north [1] of its outlet. His wife was a squaw, who, some years afterward, when her tribe went west, decided to go with them. So she and her husband concluded an amicable separation in less time than is needed even when the proclamation is, "Twenty minutes for dinner and Chicago divorces." Rasdall and his partner cut a blanket in two, and each kept half of it. Thus were they put asunder. This blanket-cutting recalls the English custom at betrothals and hand-fasts, of breaking in two a bit of money, each party retaining a portion. So in Scott's Bride of Lammermoor, the troth-plight of the Master of Ravenswood and Lucy Ashton "ended in the emblematic ceremony of their breaking betwixt them a thin broad piece of gold."

Another Indian trader, Wallace Rowan, was established at the head of Fourth Lake, at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War in 1832. It is not impossible that he was trading there before the coming of either Rasdall, or even Armel. His wife was a white woman and the first one known to have pilgrimed into this new country. In 1835, Rowan entered fifty-two acres of land on the eastern shore of Monona—a fractional farm which included Squaw, or Strawberry Point.

As early as 1833, Rowan's trading-post, about three-fourths of a mile north of the village of Pheasant Branch, had passed into the hands of Michel St. Cyr, a Canadian half-breed. This frontiersman, as will be seen in the sequel, proved a link that could not well have been spared in the chain of events which drew Madison in its train.

[1] I write *north*, though Durrie, p. 24, says south. My informant was Simeon Mills, who had often visited the dwelling of Rasdall.

Near the abode of Rowan and St. Cyr, Col. Dodge, and Henry Gratiot, Indian agent, backed up by fifty armed horsemen from the Mines, on the 25th of May, 1832, held a council with the Winnebagoes, and induced that tribe to pledge themselves to remain neutral in the impending contest. That site is also memorable for other events to be mentioned hereafter, and Capt. Brown's Illinois Rangers lay encamped there some days in the summer of 1833.

The last spot where Black Hawk's force halted was on the site of Madison, and they are said to have thrown up a brush or log breast-work on University Hill. But they retreated towards the Wisconsin River as soon as they ascertained that the Americans were advancing from Koshkonong. The main camp of the whites on the night of July 20th, 1832, was ten miles east of Madison. Their advance-guard pushed ahead seven miles farther, and passed the night "about a quarter of a mile north of the north-east end of Third Lake."[1] The next morning, starting early, they crossed the Catfish near where the Williamson street bridge now stands, before eight o'clock. Pushing on they discovered a solitary savage seated near the shore of Third Lake, a little east of the foot of King street. Suspecting him to be connected with some ambush, they shot him at once. This precipitation they afterwards regretted, and the more since they observed that he was lying on an Indian grave. The main American army was but two miles behind, and traversing Madison from east to west, "almost precisely over the ground that the capitol now stands upon," overtook no enemies in force till they approached the Wisconsin River.

A man who was passing two months afterward to that river from Fourth Lake, says the trails of the Indians were still distinct, sometimes they would all converge into a broad and plain path, and then radiate in different directions dwindling a mere trace.[2] This method of travel was adopted in order to deceive pursuers in regard to their true route, and also to help them escape in case of attack.

[1] Ms. letter of Peter Parkinson, one of the advance.
[2] *Hesperian*, ii, p. 269.

In 1835, Thomas W. Sutherland, a young Philadelphia lawyer, floated down the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony, in a skiff, to the mouth of Rock River, and paddled up that stream and the Catfish, to the spot where Madison is now built. His father through the United States surveyor, had secured lands in the vicinity. Young Sutherland spent some time in an Indian camp at Winnequah, on the east side of Lake Monona—opposite the capitol. He became an early settler in Madison, and was elected the first president of the village council, and the first secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Of the first comers to the Four Lakes, Armel, St. Cyr, and other half-breeds or French of their type, would have roamed or reveled there all the same had the old French *regime* that ended in 1763 still continued.

It was otherwise with Anglo-Saxon pioneers like Rasdall, and especially Brigham—men who removed hither in order to develop the country by persistent toil in farming, mining or other occupations of civilized life. Movements or events, favoring the entrance of such settlers into the Northwest, may be traced back a long way, and they are worth tracing.

Downward from 1783, the region was by treaty a part of the United States; but the forts—which were its keys—were not delivered up by the British till near the close of the eighteenth century, in 1796. Then treaties with Indians were needed. Six of them were made within three decades, in the years 1804, 1816, 1825, 1827, 1828, and 1829. It was necessary to enforce those compacts by war with Red Bird, and especially afterward with Black Hawk, before a settler could open a farm, and yet not lose his scalp.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon adventurers to Wisconsin, however, were not farmers but miners. Lead mines, near the corner where Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa meet together, were known to the early French. They were worked after a fashion by the Indians. They remain to this day the seat of all[1] lead mining in the United States, except Leadville

[1] *United States Census Compendium*, p. 1, 238.

and places like it, where lead is a subordinate element in the ore. Mines of a metal so important, and those so nearly unique, were naturally a strong attraction.

This industry took a swift expansion as soon as steamers had free course on the Upper Mississippi. It was in 1824, that the first steam-paddles reached Prairie du Chien; and in the fifth year thereafter, 1829, the lead harvest at Galena, where seven years before only one house was standing, amounted to twelve million pounds. The diggings of McNutt, afterwards called Kemp and Collins, and those of Brigham—both in or near Dane County—had been started in 1828, the very next year after the capture of Red Bird had made prospectors safe there.

Miners need food and shelter. Those from southern Illinois went home to winter; those from the east could not, but dodged the cold in such dug-outs as they could hurry up. The eastern men were hence nicknamed *Badgers*, as if burrowing in similar holes with these animals. This jocose appellation became the badge of all the Wisconsin tribe, and it will remain indelible forever.[1] Farmers and lumbermen soon sprang up. Natives became jealous and hostile.[2] An irrepressible conflict ensued. The result was the survival of the fittest. Lead, lurking in the mine, killed the Indians as inevitably as it ever did when moulded into rifle bullets.

[1] Regarding the sobriquet, *Badger*, there is a ludicrous etymological blunder in Meyer's *German Hand-Book*, though it is in the main a most trustworthy gazetteer. Meyer, aware that the badger hoards grain, and mentioning that that animal's Latin name is *Frumentarius*, that is, the corn commissary, says that Wisconsin, being fertile in corn, is called the Badger State, because farmers there lay up corn after the manner of the badgers. Had Meyer moved among Wisconsin pioneers, he would have heard them styled Badgers before they had begun to raise corn. There is a similar anachronism in saying, as many do, that Dane County was so named because the Scandinavian element is there so large. The truth is, that county was called Dane before one single Dane had made his home upon its acres.

[2] William Deviese, while prospecting or mining near the south line of Dane County, in 1829 and onward, had six or seven horses stolen from him by Indians, and also many mining tools. Yet he did not think that the natives had any more dislike to him than to others of his class.

The long and short of the Black Hawk War was chasing that chief and his four hundred braves, who had crossed the Mississippi from Iowa, near the mouth of Rock River, up that water to Koshkonong, and thence by way of the Four Lakes and the Wisconsin River, back to Iowa. In this chase, the whites—mainly farmers' boys—each picked out for himself a good farm.[1]

As soon as soldiering was over, many a youth made haste to break up his land, bringing with him, or soon after, the girl he had left behind him when he marched to the frontier. Such, in a nutshell, is the Genesis and Exodus—the rise and progress—the whole history of Wisconisn.

Eastern men are said to come west with a view to grow up with the country. Some of them thus migrated in the hope of carving out States in quite another form than that now existing. About 1825, enterprising settlers had planted themselves in Green Bay, sanguine that a vast State, called Superior, was about to be born, with Green Bay as its natural capital. Such anticipations were a "hatching of vain empires." But they would have been reasonable, had not Congress, robbing Peter to pay Paul, transferred the grand Northern Peninsula to Michigan, and thus kept her from fighting with Ohio for the swamps around Toledo.

Roads were demanded to facilitate settlement. A military road from Prairie de Chien to Portage was laid out by Gov. Doty, as United States commissioner in 1830; and soldiers in the garrisons at both places were set at work for constructing that thoroughfare. Thus the road-raising army brought more civilization into Wisconsin by plowshares than by swords. In the day of small things, its highways were as invaluable as any railway has been since. The track of the

[1] The discovery of excellent prairies and oak openings through all the breadth of Wisconsin was a surprise to the volunteers. It had long been reported by fur-traders, whose interests were adverse to agriculture, that Wisconsin was in the main a great Dismal Swamp, and so the myth concerning a great American Desert still found its local habitation on the east side of the Mississippi. It was long the purpose at Washington to reserve the region now Wisconsin for an Indian Territory. With this view various tribes were removed thither from New York.

Northwestern railway westward from Mount Horeb station, for twenty miles or more, is now laid on the line of the Doty military road.

Traversing rough regions on military causeways, I have often said, as the Irishman did concerning the officer who made the Scotch highlands carriageable—

> "If you had seen these roads before they were made,
> You would lift up both hands and bless General Wade."

The United States survey of the Four Lake country was not accomplished till the last days of the year 1834. The field-notes of the surveyors are still preserved in the vault of the land office in the capitol. In a little volume, No. 82, about six inches by four—a stoutly bound pocket-book—I have examined the field-notes regarding the then unsuspected site of State government—a plot of ground described as T. 7, R. 9 E., of 4 P. M.—that is, township seven north of south State line and range nine east, of the fourth principal meridian. When Madison has an illustrated history, the surveyor's plotting will be reproduced in facsimile.

Friday ought never to be counted a day of ill omen in Madison for on that day the work of surveying was begun there. That Friday was the fourth of December, 1834. The measurement of what is now the capitol square was, however, made on Sunday. The surveyor was Orson Lyon. On one of his pages, Third and Fourth lakes are plotted. Between Third and Wingra, called a pond, a line is drawn and inscribed ("Indian trail"). It runs northwest to Fourth Lake striking it in section eighteen.

Northwest of Fourth Lake, the military road appears with the legend "Mitchell's field, 14 chains; dwelling and trading house." The name "Mitchell" perplexed me not a little, till Dr. Draper suggested that it was the surveyor's name for St. Cyr, whose Christian name I found to be *Michel,* the French form of Michael.

The surveyor notes that he set a post on the north side of Third Lake, between sections twenty-three and twenty-four, with bearing-trees, a hickory eighteen inches in diameter, north thirty degrees, east fifty-two links, and a burr-oak of

eleven inches, north fifty-three west, forty-six links. Two years afterwards this section-post became historic. Still more notable was the post where sections fourteen, fifteen, twenty-four and twenty-three corner, for it stood just beneath the main western threshold of the present capitol of Wisconsin. Its bearing-trees were a white oak of twenty-two inches diameter, seventy-eight degrees southeast, sixty-one links and a burr-oak seventeen inches diameter, forty degrees south-west, sixty-nine links. Far nobler were these monarchs of the forest than any that now survive there.

The surveyor's Madisonian remarks are: "Land rolling and, except marsh, second rate, timbered with white, black and burr-oak, under-growth the same. The lakes shallow, the larger, with one perpendicular bluff about sixty feet high, and about two hundred acres of sugar trees."

The surveyor's impressions of the region were more favorable than those of Wakefield, the Illinois soldier, who two years before had passed through it in chase of Black Hawk, and who wrote:

"If these lakes were anywhere else except in the country they are, they would be considered among the wonders of the world. But the country they are situated in is not fit for any civilized nation of people to inhabit. It appears that the Almighty intended it for the children of the forest."

Our rectangular surveys, with measurements as certain as the courses of the stars, stand in strange contrast with the uncertainties of all past ages concerning metes and bounds. Owing to such uncertainties, English parishes were perambulated every spring on the so-called gang-day. Magistrates, priests and people, girls bearing gang-flowers walked in procession along boundary lines. Psalms were chanted. Beneath gospel-trees, so styled, Holy Writ was read. If disputes arose as to any boundary, the point was decided by the dignitaries present, a land-mark was set, and frequently a boy was flogged on the spot, to the end that his memory of it might become more tenacious. Something was, however, paid to such a mnemonic sufferer. Four shil-

lings of such smart-money, I see, to have been paid in one parish, in the year 1679. In 1651 Capt. Keen and seven others were chosen to go "the bounds of Boston in perambulation betwixt it and the towns around." [1]

Judge Doty has already been described as prospecting upon Second, Third, and Fourth lakes in 1829, as early as May—that is more than five years before the government survey of that land took place. The land office at Green Bay was opened in 1835. In October of that year, Doty entered one hundred acres in T. 7, R. 9, S. E. ¼ of section 12. He thus became owner of the water power on the Catfish, the value of which he over-rated. The government price of the land was then $1.25 per acre.

In January following he was trying to organize a company of twelve, each partner contributing a hundred dollars, for purchasing land on the Four Lakes in order to take advantage of the water privileges. Early in the same year he raised his aims higher, and in Gov. Mason, of Michigan, he found an associate with money. Thus he was enabled, on the sixth of April, 1836, to enter on the Madison site about a thousand acres for Mason,[2] and two hundred and sixty-one for himself. He was empowered by Mason and another buyer in the same tract, to use and dispose of their land as should seem to him best. He thus became the plenipoteniary over a sort of blind pool covering more than two square miles between Third and Fourth lakes.

He was not without rivals. In June or July of this same year, 1836, the so-called "City of the Four Lakes" was founded near Livesey's Spring, on the site of the trading-post

[1] *Record Commission*, Doc. 46, p. 106.

[2] Stevens Thompson Mason, born in Virginia in 1811—at the age of twenty was appointed by President Jackson, secretary of the Territory of Michigan, which then included Wisconsin—and in August of the same year, 1831, he became acting governor over that vast region, on the transfer of Gov. Cass to the war department in Washington. He continued in this office until Michigan became a State in 1837, and was then unanimously elected its first governor, and was re-elected. He is celebrated in law books as an "infant" office-holder, and deserves fame on the higher ground of having an old head on his young shoulders.

then occupied by St. Cyr, and before him by Rowan. It was laid out not only on paper, but on *terra firma,* by the surveyors of M. L. Martin and Col. W. B. Slaughter. But, as it turned out, all investors there were laid out too, and that so cold and stiff that they never rose again. The earth hath bubbles as the water hath, and Four Lake City was of them—the baseless fabric of a vision.

In the autumn of 1836, Doty proceeded to commence a city on the land of which he had acquired control. For this purpose he was on the ground early in October. He brought little baggage except a green shawl and a shot-gun. He was, however, accompanied by a surveyor with chain and compass. The twain—a modern Romulus and Remus—were assisted in the day and lodged at night by the half-breed St. Cyr. In the course of three days they had completed all the meanders and measurements that were necessary for drawing the plat of the embryo city—a site which Doty began at once to talk of to his engineer as bound by manifest destiny to become the Wisconsin capital.

As soon as meager field-notes had been finished at the Four Lakes, Doty hurried sixty miles west to Belmont, where the Territorial legislature was already in session. His plan of a capital—borrowed in some particulars from that of Washington—and embodying all the characteristic features of Madison today, was soon in readiness. Every hamlet in Wisconsin was its own first choice for the metropolis, as every Greek officer voted for himself as having done the best service against Xerxes; and the claims of a dozen sites, not yet settled at all, were urged by land speculators, of whom Doty was chief. He came off conqueror over all competitors. His success was largely due to his "one man power," or absolute control over all the acres he would have the legislators delight to honor. When he took them up into the mount of temptation, showing them corner lots with the glory of them, and saying, "All these things will I give you!" it was well known that his were not the promises of the Father of Lies. His chain of title was perfect, and his title deeds beyond suspicion, needing no warranty.

Some rivals may have had as liberal souls as his was; but none of them had as much soil to give.

President Hayes is charged with loving his enemies better than his friends. Being sure of friends, he used patronage to make sure of enemies. This policy has an awkward resemblance to that of a certain religious sect, the Yezidees, who worship only Satan, and that to disarm his enmity. Doty lived before the reign of Hayes, and probably knew nothing about the devil-worshippers; but he instinctively worked upon their system. He lavished everything not to reward friends—he was sure of them—but to win over foes, believing, with Walpole, that they had their price. His advances were rebuffed by Gen. Dodge; but perhaps not by the general's son. At all events they were in general graciously received. Accordingly the majority took the Doty lots, and did his bidding. They were well paid, one of them receiving the whole block on which the State Bank stands.

If disturbed by compunctious visitings from within or from without, our Solons may have defended themselves like Lord Bacon, who, when convicted of taking bribes, cried out, "I have sold justice—not injustice." So our bribe-bought legislators might plead that they fixed our capital in the best possible place, and that the wisdom of their choice is demonstrated by a half century of experience. The profit which they found while making the best choice would have lain in their path whatever choice they had made; and they may have compared that streak of luck to the strange good fortune of the mother of Moses, when she was paid wages for nursing her own child by Pharaoh's daughter.[1]

It was on the 28th of November, 1836, that the final vote

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[1] The facts regarding the location of the Wisconsin seat of government at Madison, I have endeavored to state as I find them in histories, as Durrie, p. 46, and the Western Historical Company's, p. 666, as well as in the stories of some lookers-on in Belmont who still survive. I would like to believe that Doty in his lobbying, while daring to do all that might become a man and a statesman, dared do nothing more. Whether he did or did not, is a question on which it would be idle to hope that partisans can ever agree.

was passed which settled the Territorial, and hence the State, capital, on its present site; or, in the words of the act, which was carried by a majority of fifteen to eleven, "the seat of government was located and established in the township of Madison," on the corners of four specified sections.

It is in this legislative act that the name *Madison,* so far as I know, appears for the first time. That name was no doubt picked out by Doty, and inscribed on the paper plan of that city of the future with which he had captivated and captured the ruling powers of the region—a Territory which at that time showed a population of 11,683.[1]

Had two of the legislative majority cast their ballots otherwise, the vote would have stood thirteen to thirteen. It would seem then, that Doty was economical after all, and tampered with only one or two more voters than were needful for carrying his point. It was remarked that scarcely one of the bribed members ever made much money by selling either himself or the Doty lots—a fact which may be construed as a Providential rebuke of official corruption.

The first visitor known to me at the spot which had thus been constituted the local habitation of Territorial government, was Moses M. Strong. His first arrival at the site where Madison was to stand, I do not discover on record in any book, but I relate the story as it came to me from his own lips.

Soon after New Year's in 1837, Mr. Strong was returning from Milwaukee to Mineral Point. The direct route lay south of the Four Lakes; but he with two friends turned aside with a view to inspect the spot which had just been fixed upon as the Wisconsin head-center. Having lodged and eaten muskrat and squaw-bread at a French trader's on First Lake, they pushed on north, crossed Third Lake on the ice, tied their horses, and sought for a section post. As they had brought with them, if not a copy of the surveyor's field-notes, at least a sectional map, they were not long in

[1] It does not appear that Gov. Doty ever met President Madison; but he knew his widow very well, and spoke of her, Madam Dolly, with so much love and admiration that he may be thought to have given Madison its name through a desire to do her honor.

finding the bearing-trees, the hickory and the burr-oak already mentioned, and which guided them to the square four inch post they were seeking.

The compass,—the *vade mecum* of every pioneer,—enabled the prospectors to follow the blazed trees on the surveyor's course from the section post up the Capitol Hill along the line of the future King street, till they arrived at the post marking the corners of sections thirteen, fourteen, twenty-three and twenty-four—a monument which a classical writer would style the *Milliarium aureum* of Wisconsin. A wisp of hay twisted around the limb of a tree showed that some human pilgrim had halted there already, and wished to leave a trace of his presence. No man or mortal, beast or bird, was, however, visible. The day was cold, the snow deep. So after a brief halt, the explorers went on across Fourth Lake on the ice, purposing to spend the night at the cabin of St. Cyr. But it was very dark before they reached the shore, and no sign could be detected of the haven of their hope, or even of the military road. Coming at length where an oak had been blown down, they kindled a fire of the dry branches, between two huge limbs and rolled themselves each in his blanket, beside its trunk. They passed the night, one of the three being up all the time, and at work with the hatchet to keep the fire going. They lay without shelter or food, save a remnant of bread and pork, but no water or even whisky.

Day-light revealed, after two hours' wandering, the way to Blue Mounds, where they felt at home. Houseless wanderers find the earth a cold bed in winter. One experiment, sometimes tried by Strong, gave him what he needed. After supper he would push his campfire a rod away from where it had been built. By this change of base he secured a dry and warm, though fire blackened, mattress for spreading his blankets. No warming pan could be better.

The next month, February, 1837, Mr. Strong and John Catlin were employed to survey and stake out the lots around the capitol square. They came from the west in a sleigh with a driver. Their base of operations was the log cabin of St. Cyr. Deep snow and snow-storms sometimes drove

them back there from their field of labor, for forage, potatoes, salt and shelter. For these supplies they paid their entertainer thirteen dollars and a half. Yet their camping ground was usually among the ridges between Wingra and Third Lake. In about a week—that is on Feb. 26th, 1837, the task of meandering and lot-staking was done, so far as it was practicable on deep snow, and ground frozen still deeper.

The last night of this survey, Mr. Strong's party lodged near where the steamboat landing on Fourth Lake now is. They had no tent, but lay in blankets; and thanks to a tremendous snow-fall, were buried more than a foot deep. The storm still continuing in the morning, they gave up further work as fruitless, and drove off in their sleigh on the Lake. The air was thick with snow—nothing could be seen in any direction—the driver lost his head and his way. But at starting Mr. Strong had observed that the wind had struck his right cheek when the horses were headed as the compass showed they ought to go. Hence, taking the reins, he turned the horses till the wind struck his face as in the beginning. Thus with no other guide than the way the wind came, he at length brought his team and passengers to the half-breed hut, then the only refuge within possible reach.

Thus, the Four Lake country gave place to Madison, and here the task assigned me also finds its conclusion. You all know what has followed here in the fifty years save two which have since elapsed.

If I were to cross the Madisonian threshold, I should be led on so far, that you would compare my paper to the endless rope which an Irishman pulled and pulled till he was tired, and then broke out with an oath, swearing the other end of the pesky thing had been cut off.

It may be worth adding, that the foregoing sketch is based upon conversations with Gov. Doty, Gen. Mills, Hon. Moses M. Strong, Dr. L. C. Draper, and others; on the standard histories of Madison or Dane County by Durrie, Park, Western Historical Company, and Smith; on correspondence with D.

J. Pulling, Morgan L. Martin, Jefferson Davis, Hollis Crocker, H. A. Tenney, Peter Parkinson, G. W. Jones; and on gleanings from various maps, books and newspapers in the Library of the State Historical Society, and especially the nine volumes of its *Historical Collections*, the works of Featherstonhaugh, Wakefield, Keating, etc.

Lawe and Grignon Papers, 1794-1821

These interesting old documents were presented to the Society by Col. James M. Boyd and Mrs. Ursula M. Grignon, of Green Bay. They give some inklings of the customs, doings, trade and commerce of early Wisconsin times; and exhibit undeniable evidence, that Judge Reaume had more system in his legal proceedings, and more impartiality in dispensing justice, than some of the old anecdotes about him would imply. They also go to show that Judge Reaume served as a justice of the peace in 1805, 1809, 1816, and 1817. The fact that he was made a judge of Brown County court, when the county was organized in 1818, is another proof that Judge Reaume must have possessed some merit and fitness for the position. L. C. D.

SALE OF LAND MADE BY THE INDIAN NATION, 8TH AUGUST, 1794

Be it known to all the world that may look upon this, that we, the undersigned, chiefs of the Nation of savages named the Phalavoines, [Folles Avoines, or Menomonees], acting for the Nation at large, have given, granted and confirmed, and by these presents give, grant and confirm, to Jacob Franks,[1] his heirs, executors and assigns, and each of them, all our titles, claims and demands upon a tenement (holding) or piece of land, with all the appurtenances whatsoever, containing three arpents in front by a hundred arpents in depth, situated at The Bay in Upper Canada,[2] bounded in front by the Fox River, on the north by a piece of land granted to Dominique Ducharme, and upon all other sides by the lands not granted—for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, clear and free from all gifts, grants, rents or incumbrances whatsoever, for value received.

In testimony whereof, we have, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, set beneath our hands and seals, at The Bay, this eighth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

[1] Uncle of Judge Lawe, of Green Bay.
[2] Green Bay.

Also a piece of land upon the other bank of the said river, containing nine arpents in front by a hundred arpents in depth, clear and free like the aforesaid tenement upon the other bank of the river.

Witnesses:

L. Fily.

George Gillespie.

Jean Ecuyer,

his
Alex. Kennedy, X
mark

L. Lagoterie.

his
Attawoinabi. X
mark

his
Claude X Carron.
mark

his
Thomas X Carron.
mark

totem
Chictatche Anguin.
turtle

A CANOE CLEARANCE, 1802

Clearance of one canoe, the property of Rocheblave and Porlier, conducted by Louis Grignon, bound for the Mississippi, having on board the following cargo, viz.: Six bales, one keg of powder, six kegs of sundries, seven bags of corn, two bags of flour and necessary sea stores.

District and Port of Michilimackinac,

These are to certify that Rocheblave and Porlier have entered and cleared their said canoe according to law.

Given under my hand and seal at the Custom House, this 20th day of July, 1802.

David Duncan,
Col'r.

REAUME'S JUDGMENT AGAINST MICHAEL BARTRAND, 1805

Declarations of the arbitrators who were appointed to inspect the damages done to the house of Francis St. Rock and Pierre Charon, demanding an investigation and justice.

Complaint made by the said St. Rock and Pierre Charon. After their houses were forced and opened through a shut-

ter, and after I had heard the complaint of the two men, not being willing to take upon myself to judge without having sent [some one] to inspect the break made, I determined to name four persons to inspect said house, and I named M. M. Pierre Willrick,[1] Pierre Carboneau, Louis Moineaux and Joachim La Gapé, who had themselves carried [to the spot] in accordance with said commission, and have made their report as follows: They have discovered that Michael Bartrand, who had sent an iron fork through a window, into a garret of the house, without having had any permission to do so, the said fork having been seen by the said St. Rock and Charon exposed and near the window, that some one had afterwards carried it away; they [St. Rock and Charon] put it in the middle of their garret, [so that it was] impossible, according to the report of the arbitrators, that it should have been carried off through the same window through which it had been sent. The said Bartrand having been to recover his fork, came and declared himself to St. Rock that he had been to recover his said fork, and that he had had much difficulty, and that he had made use of a stone, and that finally he had succeeded in carrying it off, having sought, with the aid of St. Rock, Charon and Joseph Beligore, everywhere in the prairie (meadow), and about the house, if he could find there hooks or other suitable implements in order to get it. In hunting about said house, they [the arbitrators] perceived that a window shutter had been bent [pried open], and that his only means of getting possession of his fork was by entering by the window, and ascending to the garret. And, having examined their goods [those of St. Rock and Charon], it being apparent that something had been taken from them, it was found to be a coat of brown cloth, nearly new, a pound of tobacco, a pound of soap, a pound of powder and of lead, a large chopping axe belonging to Charon; and he [Bartrand] had thrown down a large vessel of cream, after having eaten part of it, and had drank some of the milk which he had found in their pantry. Thereupon the losers,

[1] A Dutchman (Hollander), who lived on Dutchman's Creek.

the said St. Rock and Charon accused the said Bartrand and Jacques Laurent of having broken into the house, and of having taken their goods. And these arbitrators declare that it was no other than these two mentioned, [as appears] by the iron fork which they [St. Rock and Charon] had put in the middle of the garret, with other goods, which would hinder and prevent their seeing it otherwise.

The said St. Rock and Charon having summoned Bartrand to surrender their goods or be sued, and the said Bartrand having suffered himself to be sued, has been condemned by the arbitrators, and seeing himself in fault, not wishing to let the matter go further, has demanded of St. Rock to settle the matter, and has paid by his notes.

Done before me, the undersigned, at Green Bay, the 27th of January of this present year, eighteen hundred and five.

(Signed:) Charles Reaume,
Justice of the Peace.

CONTRACT FOR BUILDING A CHIMNEY, NOV. 20, 1809

Before the undersigned, Justice of the Peace of Green Bay, there residing, were present Alexander Gullorie St. Dumond and the Indian named Achoabeme, who have entered into the following agreement, towit: That St. Dumond has placed, and by these present places, an Indian woman whom he has as a concubine at board with the said Indian until the time when the sugar trees shall stop running; for, and on condition, that the said Dumond, who has promised and promises for payment of the said board of the said Indian woman, and the said Dumond binds himself to make and put up a stone chimney with mortar, from the ground to the raising plate; then the said Indian binds himself to furnish the stone and the mortar at the place for the said chimney, and to serve him or cause him to be served all the time that he shall work at the said chimney; and, moreover, the said contractor has undertaken and undertakes to complete it to

the height that the said Indian shall require of him, on condition that the said Indian send him a keg of fine sugar, well ground, and the keg shall be of nine gallons, which shall be for complete payment of the said undertaking. The keg of sugar shall be put into the hands of the undersigned to be delivered to the said St. Gullorie when the said chimney shall be completed according to their agreement.

At Green Bay, 20th November, one thousand eight hundred and nine. The said Dumond having declared that he could not sign his name, has made his usual mark, with the said Indian, after it had been fully explained. Before the undersigned, after reading made in words, with nothing omitted.

his
ACHOABEME X
mark.

his
ALEXANDER GULLORIE X
mark.

CHARLES REAUME,
J. a pax.

JOHN ASKIN TO JACOB FRANKS

MICHILIMACKINAC, September 8, 1812.

Dear Sir:—On the 28th ult., Mr. Robert Livingston arrived from Detroit with dispatches from Maj. Gen. Brock, giving us an account of the surrender of that place to our arms—Gen. Hull and his three thousand men, all prisoners of war. Gen. Brock and Hull and his army embarking for Presqu' Isle on the 17th. Detroit surrendered the 16th. Capt. Hanks was cut in two by a cannon ball fired from our battery erected opposite to Detroit. The place surrendered as soon as our forces reached the town, and articles of capitulation similar to those of this place. It appears that Gen. Hull disavowed the capitulation of this place, and Livingston was imprisoned. Capt. Ruff was not permitted to proceed with his vessel during the short time that Hull flourished. Livingston further reports that Capt. Dobbins took an active part, and armed his seamen to fight against us, and Capt. Ruff maintained his neutrality to the last. Capt. Muir,

of the Fortieth Reg't, was wounded in the leg. Lt. Symmings of the same regiment, received a bullet through the mouth and died of his wound. Total amount of our loss is ten whites killed and wounded, and seventeen Indians. The Americans lost two hundred and fifty killed and wounded at the different skirmishes at the river Au Canard, Mow-guaw-gon-nang, and Coulee de Mourisseaux. The Indians who take this were at the different engagements. Messrs. Berthelot and La Croix, who arrived with the boats, have given us accounts of the whole transaction, that is to say, what has come to their knowledge, which corresponds with Livingston's account, and the six Canadians who were in the different skirmishes, and the taking of the place. The bearers hereof appear to have got their share of the booty, for they have rifles, etc., etc.

Capt. Roberts writes you by this opportunity respecting the flour, etc. Mr. Lawe was so obliging as to permit me to enter your house, and to make an office of it until your pleasure would be known. I, therefore, have to request you will be pleased to signify to me if it meets your approbation. Also should be glad to have the use of the shed or store, with the stable adjoining. Should an opporunity offer of transmitting intelligence to Mr. Rollette's place, I request you will be pleased to give him an account of our happy success, also that I firmly believe that Niagara is in our possession.

An express arrived from Montreal the 2d inst. Our forces on the lines were forty thousand, exclusive of twelve hundred regulars just arrived from home. The Forty-Ninth Reg't Brunswickers and Fencibles, were on their way up from Quebec. Col. Baynes had just returned with a flag of truce from Albany. Was well received by Gen. Dearborn, who declared his [sentiments] against the war, and wishes to resign his command. Frequent riots in Baltimore, at one time twenty-eight lost their lives. The Yankees have already lost a great number of their vessels. Capt. Byron, of the Belvidere frigate of thirty-six guns, was attacked by Com. Rodgers, and with three frigates and two sloops of war near Long Island, at a time that Byron had no intelligence

of the declaration of war. However, he had the good fortune to beat them off; and afterwards took three rich American prizes into Halifax. Lt. Darragh has resigned, and to take the oath of allegiance—so says Mr. Berthelot; also to be here this Autumn for certain purposes. My compliments to Mrs. Lawe. Mrs. Askin joins me in best wishes for your health and prosperity, and am, dear sir,

Yours most faithfully,

Jno. Askin, Jr.

Mr. J. Franks, Merchant.
La Baye.

ROBERT DICKSON TO FRANKS

Michilimackinac, September 8, 1812.

Dear Franks:—Detroit was taken by Gen. Brock on the 16th of last month. Gen. Hull, with two thousand four hundred men, laid down their arms. The American regulars are all gone to Quebec; but the Kentucky militia have been allowed to go home. Our batteries across the river did great execution a little before Detroit surrendered. Four officers and a private were killed by one ball. Poor Hanks, having been detailed by Hull, was cut in two and died instantly. Col. Proctor, of the Forty-First, commands at Detroit. Gen. Brock staid only twenty-four hours there, and is gone to attack Niagara.

Two regiments, the Scots Royal, and One Hundred and Third, are come up there. Dominique Ducharme came here express from Montreal ten days ago, and is returned. There has been no blow struck yet in Canada. Troops are arriving daily from England, and all are marching to the lines—every one in high spirits. Independent of the Indian goods coming by Detroit, six canoes are coming up the Grand River with Indian presents. We expect them daily. Wee-nu-sate with his party of Folles Avoines behaved well, and rendered much service. Gen. Brock's force, Indians, militia and regulars did not exceed fifteen hundred. He was ready to storm before he was perceived. A large re-enforcement of Americans coming to Detroit, with one hundred and seventy wagons,

were also included in the capitulation. Gen. Brock has acquired much glory, and the Americans, after their vain boasting, are covered with disgrace.

Ten sail of the line, and ten frigates, have arrived at Halifax. The fleet on that station are sweeping everything before them. Dispatches from Madison to Bonaparte had been intercepted at an early period, which put John Bull on his guard.

There has been a terrible affair at Baltimore. A general, two captains, and thirty or forty individuals, have been killed by the mobs. All the States are in a great ferment.

Berthelot and La Croix arrived two days ago. We expect the other boats with the Nancy in two or three days. On their arrival I will send a boat to La Baye with what is necessary to assist you and the others. Mr. Lawe will proceed with it to the Mississippi until he meets Mr. Aird, and they will arrange for his wintering. Mr. Anderson will want many articles, and it is proper he should be well supplied, as the best peltries come from that quarter. I have eight kegs high wines, and two kegs spirits here, with two hundred pounds tobacco. I will send two or three *mangeurs de lard*, or pork-eaters in the boat, and engage passengers if possible. At latest I think she will be at La Baye, 26th inst. I will then write Mr. Lawe with the others.

The two cartel vessels, Rough and Dobbin, were detained by Gen. Hull, and although Gen. Brock gave them a passport, they were not allowed to proceed, but detained until Detroit surrendered. I understand they now run some risk of confiscation. If this should happen, I am sorry for Howard and Hone.

Flour sells at Detroit for four dollars—pork and whisky high—whisky a dollar per bottle.

Please give my respects to Mr. Lawe and Mr. Jacobs. Wishing you health, I remain, dear Franks,

Yours truly.

R. Dickson.

P. S.—Mr. Wilmot is still here. We have learned that Mr. McGill is inclined to make an honorable capitulation

with us. At all events, you may depend on me for coming to a settlement some way or other, as it is impossible to go on any longer without it. R. D.

Mr. Jacob Franks,
La Baye.
Per Wee-nu-sate, with good news.

DICKSON TO LOUIS GRIGNON

MICHILIMACKINAC, September 8, 1812.

Dear Sir:—Ten days ago we learned by Mr. Livingston that Detroit had surrendered to Gen. Brock on the 16th of last month. Gen. Hull, after all his vaunts, was obliged to deliver up his sword and two thousand seven hundred of their troops to Gen. Brock. They have all left Detroit. Gen. Proctor, of the Forty-First Reg't commands there; and Gen. Brock has departed in order to attack Niagara.

M. Ducharme arrived eight days ago from Montreal by express. British troops daily arrive at Quebec, and are at once dispatched to the line. Thus far no fighting. The Americans are collected, and all ready, but they do not at all wish to fight.

M. Berthelot and La Croix have come from Detroit. * * * Five canoes on the way from Felix.

My opinion is that peace will come very soon, and I hope that all things will be well.

The Indians [couriers?] are in a hurry to start; but I will write you more fully by the first opportunity.

Wishing health to you as well as to your family, I am, my dear sir,

Your humble servant,

Lieut. Louis Grignon, La Baye. R. DICKSON.

DICKSON TO JOHN LAWE

WINNEBAGO LAKE, November 14, 1813.

Dear Sir:—This will be handed to you by Mr. Chandonnet, whom I send to La Baye in order to expedite the boats, which have been left in the small lake below this. No expense must be spared, as without a supply of provisions the

John Lawe, 1780-1846

garrison at Mackinac will be out by the month of February. I think that we shall still have fine weather towards the end of the moon. I have very little provision, but trust to a kind Providence. I think that Jean Vieux will be the most proper person to get down the boats. Keep a good look-out, as some of the Michigan Fencibles are great thieves and have threatened to kill animals at La Baye. If they do so, put them in irons immediately. Give Mr. Chandonnet a guide to return, when the boats are got off at Mackinac. I am, dear sir,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

Lieut. John Lawe, La Baye.
Per Lieut. Chandonnet.

ASKIN TO GRIGNON

Michilimackinac, December —, 1813.

Dear Sir:—We have intelligence of Gen. Proctor's defeat. It appears that our army retreated to the river Thames after Amherstburg and Detroit were evacuated. Tecumseh, with his party—some Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares, Sauks, Folle Avoines, and some Hurons followed. That as soon as the Americans reached Detroit, a number of Canadians and Indians joined the army, and pursued our people to the river Thames, where an engagement took place one mile below the Moravian Village, which lasted for two hours, when our army was compelled to make a precipitate retreat towards Queenston, leaving all their baggage behind. Our loss is said to be two subaltern officers and one hundred privates killed, two interpreters, and twenty-two Indians. Capt. Muir and one hundred privates of the Forty-First regiment prisoners; also one hundred and fifty Delaware women and children which the enemy took. I am sorry to say, that Antoine Brisbois, and Lewis Campau, interpreters, and Tecumseh, are among the number slain. The latter fought bravely to the last, sword in hand; the enemy skinned him after he was slain. Gen. Proctor and the remains of the army are at St. David's. These two Folles

Avoines were in the engagement, and will be able to give you a circumstantial account of the affair. Sir James Yeo has taken one of the enemy's large vessels on Lake Ontario and sunk another.

Provisions of every kind are scarce and dear here, corn selling at six dollars per bushel. We expected that some of the boats that took out Indian presents would have returned long ere this with beef and flour from your place, We have not more than five months provisions in store, I am told. All have long faces, but when reduced to half rations they will be much longer.

Yours most truly,

JNO. ASKIN, JR.

Mr. Louis Grignon, Green Bay.
[Endorsed.] Received January 4, 1814.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 28th January, 1814.

Sir:—Your favor of the 10th inst. I have to acknowledge, and am happy to find you returned from the Prairie du Chien without encountering the cold blasts of January on your route.

I note what you say respecting Gen. Cass. I have to observe that had the enemy come to attack the place last Autumn, and effected a landing, they could not have remained; unless they had brought an abundant supply of provisions. Starvation stares us in the face. The old residents, who were well supplied with horned cattle, and versed in the art of fishing, may do well enough, and all those married people, attached to the garrison, who draw extra rations for their wives and children; but as one ration only is allowed me to feed my family, consisting of six persons, I find it very hard, especially as no provisions, except fish, can be purchased. The lower class of people subsist solely on the fish they daily get from their nets; and when the ice goes away, they must leave the country, or starve.

By an arrival from Saguina, I am informed by the Saguina Indians, that a band of their nation went to Detroit and made peace with Gen. Cass or Harrison.

The Ottawa chiefs, Oneguegand and Nayokemaw, of the river Au Sable, accompanied by their followers, went last Fall to Detroit, and joined Gen. Harrison, as they were avowed Yankees, and did not take an active part with their brethren. Nothing less could be expected from them.

Mr. Michel Cadot left this on the 18th inst., with dispatches for York [Toronto], will not be back before the 1st of next month. When he arrives, we may hear of something having been done near the lines, of Lower Canada, that being the quarter that was threatened by the enemy.

I observe what you say respecting the different Indian tribes, and am of the opinion as far as regards the Winnebagoes, who will be staunch to the last.

Be pleased to inquire of the Menomonees, who had Gen. Cass's permit, what is become of the enemy's fleet, whether laid up at Detroit, Amherstburg, Presqu' Isle, or the river Rouge, and let me know by the first opportunity what he says on the subject. Also what did the enemy do with the Obaynahga women and children, taken at Eskaynay-Sepe;[1] and what became of Capt. Muer and his party, and all the rest of the prisoners of war?

Mrs. Askins joins me in best wishes, and am, dear sir,

Your most obd't serv't,

Lieut. Louis Grignon,
Indian Department, La Bay.

JNO. ASKIN, JR.

DICKSON TO LAWE

WINNEBAGO LAKE, February 10, 1814.

Dear Sir:—I received yours last night, and have for some time past been aware of the intelligence you communicate, and it was one of the reasons that prevented me going to La Baye. Ducharme was rather late with his information, although I can hardly think that the Pottawatomies will be

[1] Referring, doubtless, to the Delaware women and children captured by the Americans, mentioned in Mr. Askin's preceding letter. Obaynahga seems to have been the Ottawa name for the Delawares, and Eskaynay-Sepe for the river Thames. L. C. D.

so rash as to attempt anything against us; still, I am completely on my guard, and will take the further necessary precautions to prevent a surprise. I would not stir a peg from this if I was sure we should be attacked tomorrow. If they come here with hostile intentions they may get a drubbing they are little aware of.

I enclose you the letter I send Chandonnet for your perusal. You will please get Collish and Jean Vieux, two brothers-in-law, to go to Milwaukee with the letter; and they will proceed to where Le Sallien is and bring him here. They must inform the Indians that I want Le Sallien to tell him the news to carry back to them at some time. You will instruct the Indians to listen to all that is going on where they pass, and bring me a faithful report. These two Indians are related to La Farine and another chief, and they are the most fit to be intrusted with the commission. They must also request a Folle Avoine Indian named Opahoh to come with them, as Thomas[1] wants much to see him here; and I request that you send as many sleighs as will bring up the wheat, as with provisions I can assemble a force, if found requisite. If you cannot find beef when you journey have resource to Mascar's oxen, which I wish to reserve until Spring.

Mr. Brisbois will tell you all that is going on here. I have one reason for not sending the *Gazette* at present—it is of no great consequence; but you will be satisfied with it when I see you.

With best wishes, I remain, dear sir,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

Endeavor to get the Indians for Milwaukee to set out as soon as you can.

Lieut. John Lawe, La Baye.

Winnebago Lake, Feb. 11, 1814.

Dear Sir:—Mr. Grignon's man going to La Baye, by him I send this. I have to acquaint you with six Indians,

[1] Thomas Carron, or Tomah, the Menomonee chief.

mostly Pottawatomies, having arrived here yesterday. I immediately on their arrival suspected them to be spies from the enemy, or the advanced party of a greater number. I asked them what they were; and told them in a stern manner if they were Pottawatomies, they should walk off immediately. On this they presented two letters from Mr. Chandonnet, informing me of all the traders on the south side of the Lake [Michigan] having been taken by the Americans, and carried to Detroit. The six Indians did not deny this, but wished and seemed anxious to have us think that there were no Indians employed in this business.

They say John Bapt. Chandonnet, and Burnet, were the leaders; and that there were only six Frenchmen in all who took the traders. I suspect the truth to be that a strong party of Pottawatomies were employed in this business; and that the other Indians were either unable, or perhaps unwilling, to prevent them. Chandonnet is alarmed, and with much reason. I now enclose you a letter for him to come to La Baye with the powder and ball remaining. The Folles Avoines are mostly assembled here, and will not hesitate to give battle should a party appear. The moment we find that these six men are scouts for a party, their accounts will be settled. After the traders having been carried off, we must act with severity. Be on your guard at La Baye against the Milwaukee Indians. There are a great many scoundrels among them, and I have heard something lately that gives me strong suspicions against them.

I shall detain the six Indians until after tomorrow. If no party appears during that time, I shall send them off clothed, on account of their doing mischief to Chandonnet. I cannot learn what is become of Le Sallien. Chandonnet has not seen him since he came from La Baye.

I shall inform the Pottawatomies, that in the first place I have no goods for them, and forbid them coming here; and if they persist, I shall treat them as enemies. So much for these villains. Inform Mr. Grignon and the gentlemen of La Baye of what has passed. I trust no time will be lost in sending up the wheat, as I am of opinion that the weather

will soon be soft. The roads are now fine and we must not lose the opportunity.

James Burnet must be an infernal villain after having been commissioned as a Lieutenant and taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity. I hope that one day he may be rewarded by a halter.

With best wishes for your health,

I am, dear sir,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

P. S. I hope that the enclosure will be in time to go by the Indians you were to send. If they are gone, send after them with the letter.

Lieut. John Lawe, La Baye.

Winnebago Lake, February 16, 1814.

Dear Sir:—I received yours with the express from Mackinac this morning. There is nothing new, except that two hundred Americans had gone up the river Trenche, and had been cut off by our troops. This is only Indian report; but I believe it, as it was so likely they would attempt a thing of this kind. They are not so badly off for provisions at Mackinac as we supposed, having flour enough to last until June.

Depend on it, we shall have good news by Montreal express. Dr. Mitchell[1] did not expect it before the 20th of this

[1] Dr. David Mitchell was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he was educated, and entered the British army as a surgeon. He married Miss Elizabeth Bertrand, at Montreal, in July, 1776. He seems to have been continuously connected with the army, and when the British captured Mackinaw in 1812, he became a resident there with his family; and, as we see by Col. Dickson's letter, he had been assigned to the Indian service in 1813–14, on Lake Winnebago; and was, no doubt, at that period the only physician between Mackinaw and the Mississippi. After the peace of 1815, he retired with the British troops to Drummond's Island, leaving Mrs. Mitchell at the homestead in Mackinaw, carrying on quite an extensive business in the fur-trade. She was a great lover of floriculture, and hence

month. Lieut. Grignon will tell you what news is here; and on Thomas' return, I will try to pay you a visit for a day, as I intend sending two Indians to Mackinac. I send you by Mr. Lanchevier [Langevin?] a few strouds, and one pair two-point blankets, having no more unbaled, and being hurried. I thank you for the beef, and for the muskalonge, which is superb. I send to La Prairie in a day or two, and remain, sir,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

Lt. John Lawe, La Bay.

DICKSON TO LAWE AND GRIGNON

Winnebago Lake, Feb. 27, 1814.

Gentlemen:—As it is very probable that we shall soon be attacked by the Pottawatomies, I send to-morrow to secure the ammunition at Beauprez's house. Thomas begs of you to inform all the Indians near La Baye, that they hold themselves ready to march, as he and the others of his nation, in the event of hostilities, are determined to follow the Pottawatomies to their lodges, and they hope to be able to destroy the whole party. I am getting shoes made that all may be ready. All volunteers from the white inhabitants will be willingly accepted, and compensation will be made them for their services.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your very h'm servant,

R. Dickson,

Agt. and Sup't, Western Nations.

Lieuts. Lawe & Grignon, La Baye.

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the Indians gave her a name which in their language signified *Queen of the Flowers.*

As the army retired from Drummond's Island to Penetanguishine, Canada, he accompanied them, and died at that place of cholera, in 1832, aged about eighty-five. He had quite a library, was well read, a man of iron will, and so hating the Yankee race that he would not remain on their soil when Mackinaw was surrendered to the Americans on the peace of 1815. He left a family of twelve children—the late Wm. Mitchell, of Green Bay, who died three years since, was the youngest and last. Mrs. Mary C. Mitchell, the widow of William Mitchell, has furnished the data for this note. L. C. D.

DICKSON TO LAWE

WINNEBAGO LAKE, Feb. 28, 1814.

Dear Sir:—I was glad to see Jean Vieux, and to find that our people at Milwaukee were all safe. They are in that place quite ignorant of all that is passing elsewhere. It is true, a number of the reports may be false; but you may rest assured that the Pottawatomies do not meditate anything good to us, else they would never have given hostages to the Americans for their good behavior, nor would they so industriously have concealed this circumstance from the other Indians. The general tenor of the reports circulated are with the view of detaching the Indians from our interest. I am as much as ever on my guard against them, and my firm determination is to shew all the Indians that we are not to be trifled with. The Pottawatomies by what I have held out to them, will probably be prevented from going the lengths they otherwise might have gone. La Batte is a very proper person to carry the express. Tell them to use all possible expedition. I send you some sugar, but have not a pound of grease. Lieut. Grignon can perhaps furnish a little. I can only get one pair snow-shoes. Jean Vieux is in a hurry. Please inform Lieut. Grignon of the contents of this letter. I expect Messrs. Acyaster and Bonneture today. I thank you for the tobacco. Nothing more at present.

Yours truly,

R. DICKSON.

Lieut. Lawe, La Baye.
Per Jean Vieux.

ASKIN TO GRIGNON

MICHILIMACKINAC, March 1, 1814.

Dear Sir:—On the 24th ult., Robert Livingston arrived from New York, and brought us the agreeable information and official accounts of the enemy having abandoned Fort George on the 12th of December, and Fort Niagara was carried by storm on the 19th same month by the One Hundredth Reg't, part of the Forty-First and Eighth royals, under the command of Col. Murray. The enemy had sixty-five killed, fifteen wounded and three hundred and fifty

made prisoners. During Col. Murray's operations at Fort Niagara, Gen. Riall, with some troops and about eight hundred Indians crossed over to Lewiston, but the yell of the Indians on hearing of the success against Niagara, frightened away all of the force that was at Lewiston, so that Gen. Riall found no resistance.

As soon as preparations could be made, Gen. Drummond attacked the enemy at Black Rock with five hundred men and some Indians. The enemy's force was sixteen hundred, who gave our people a warm reception for fifteen minutes and then gave way, leaving one hundred prisoners in our possession. The Indians pursued the stragglers in the woods, and killed about two hundred and fifty. Our people pursued to the village of Buffalo, where they found great quantities of merchandise and public stores of every description; and soldiers and Indians brought away as much goods as they could carry. As the enemy had burned every house in the town of Niagara, Gen. Drummond ordered that every building in Buffalo, and from there to Niagara should be burned, which was done. There were four fine, large, armed schooners at Buffalo, which shared the fate of the town. The public stores taken in Niagara will amount to £100,000.

Gen. Wilkinson, with an army of four thousand six hundred men, was descending the Long Sault, to form a junction with Gen. Hampton on the 11th of November last, for the purpose of invading Lower Canada; but Col. Morrison, with a part of the Forty-Ninth Reg't and the Eighty-Ninth Reg't and a division of gun-boats, attacked him, killed one hundred, took a hundred prisoners, and put one thousand more *hors du combat*. Our loss was trifling. The party that defeated Wilkinson was from Kingston, so that our Canadians of Montreal, who were prepared to give the Yankees a good dressing, were quite disappointed to find that the business had been [accomplished] by their friends. The invading army is gone into Winter quarters at Plattsburg, etc.

An expedition was in agitation when Livingston left York, for the reduction of Detroit. The accounts of the decisive de-

feat of Bonaparte, on the 16th, 18th and 19th, October last, has come to hand; he lost in these three engagements eighty-two thousand men, and one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon. Two large ships of thirty-five and fifty-six guns are in great forwardness at Kingston, which will give Sir J. L. Yeo the superiority of Lake Ontario.

The bearers, Agouahbeme and comrade, are sent express for Mr. Dickson's letters, and both are required to return to this place. I intend to send two more Indians to your quarter as soon as the York courier returns, who is expected in three or four days, with Michel Cadot, who left this the 18th January last. I send a few newspapers, which you will please forward to Robert Dickson, Esq.

Wishing you health and happiness, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JNO. ASKIN, JR.

Lieut. Louis Grignon, La Baye.

REMARKS ON THE BAD INTENTIONS OF THE POTAWATOMI, MARCH 2, 1814

1. My having been advertised by different Indians of their bad dispositions.

2. Their having said if Thomas[1] and his relations were the only Indians with me, that they would cut us off.

3. Their manner of arriving here with a few women and no children as usual.

4. Coming to council completely armed.

5. The Grand Puant when called to council was not to be found, and on two young men having been sent to look for him, they returned without giving themselves any trouble.

6. Watcho giving us no information respecting the Main Poque's parole, which he had lately received from Detroit.

[1] Thomas Carron, or Old Tomah.

7. Watcho and the Grand Puant being painted in the manner as when going to strike their enemies.

8. The discourse of the Grand Puant to Watcho, while I was in council with the Renards or Foxes, and which was overheard.

9. Their requesting to dance at the house, which I refused; we have since been informed that at this time they were to strike.

10. Their never mentioning that the Pottawatomie chiefs had gone to St. Louis, of which they were not ignorant.

11. Their having promised to go to war last Fall, and putting it off under different pretexts from time to time.

12. The Grand Puant having asked the Indians on the event of my death, who was to get the goods.

13. The Grand Puant having said to several Indians that he would quarrel with me.

14. The very ungracious manner in which they received the presents, not returning thanks.

15. Their not giving me the hand on leaving this.

17. The Grand Puant and Watcho surprised while whispering to each other at night.

18. The woman's report, at La Baye, of their intention of killing me if they were refused presents.

19. The discourse held by Petite's son.

20. Their having held council to kill Beaubien, and to take his goods.

21. The number of idle reports in circulation, but all with an intention to injure our cause.

22. Having demanded of the Grand Puant on his arrival whether any of the Indians with him had been here before, he denied that any had been here, and we afterwards discovered five or six who had already received presents.

23. The Grand Puant, previous to his leaving his village, had sent tobacco to the young men at Milwalkie inviting them to come here with him. On their saying that they had already been here, he said let them come—it was to dance.

24. The arrival of the six Pottawatomies as spies, and

their not delivering Mr. Chandonnet's letters until threatened.

25. Their forcibly seizing our traders and carrying them to Detroit.

26. Their denying Mat-tat-tass having gone to see the Main Poque at Detroit.

27. Their having made peace with the Americans, and agreeing to take up the hatchet against all Indians atttached to the English, and their giving hostages in consequence.

28. The Elourneau[1] informed me that four of their chiefs, during the course of last Summer, gave information to the enemy of all our motions, and for this service were loaded with presents.

29. When the late Mr. La Saussaye arrived last Spring on the south side of Lake Michigan, the Main Poque had just come from the Americans, and was seen with four horses which he had received from them, by the Little Forgeron and his party. The Little Forgeron mentioned this circumstance to the Grand Soldat, and was desired by him to conceal it.

30. When the Little Forgeron and his party went to war from Detroit, after their having passed the river Raisin, discovered two tracks, which they took for Americans, but afterwards found them to be Pottawatomies, who gave information to the Fort, on which a body of cavalry sallied out, and in consequence a Folle Avoine, or Menomonee, was killed. He again informed the Grand Soldat of this circumstance, and was again desired by him to conceal it.

31. The Main Poque informed the Folles Avoines of that party, that he would go to the English; but would keep behind, and see what was going on; that it was his determination not to fight.

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[1] This refers to Leturneau—the *l* in Elourneau having, doubtless, been intended for a *t*, the crossing of which was neglected. He was an Ottawa, whose wife was a Pottawatomie, and he was chosen a chief in this latter tribe. He resided somewhere south-west of Chicago. His name was Siggenauk, or Blackbird; but better known among the early settlers of Illinois as Leturneau. L. C. D.

32. The Pottawatomies did not arrive at Fort Meigs until two days after we were there.

33. On the attack at Sandusky, the Main Poque ascended a tree, and called out to his young men that they should not advance until they saw the white flag hoisted, and that then they would rush into the fort.

34. On our leaving Sandusky, the Main Poque remained, and did not come to Detroit until fifteen days after our arrival. He had four men of his nation with him, one of whom was Kenzie's great friend, named Kee-pou-tah, from St. Joseph's.

After such a concatenation of events, there is no doubt in my mind of the hostile intention of the Pottawatomies to us.

R. Dickson.

Winnebago Lake, March 2, 1814.

DICKSON TO LAWE

Winnebago Lake, March 15, 1814.

Dear Sir:—This goes by the old Is-kee-ken-aibe, who, on coming here, upset in a canoe, and lost his gun. If you have one, let him have it, as I do not wish to let the Indians here see him get one. I do not know what the old fellow walks about for. I believe it is hunger drives them all here. If you can, give him half a bushel of wheat. I shall be obliged to take every precaution to bring a greater quantity of flour from the Prairie.[1] No news from that place as yet. I think that the people have imprudently left their snow-shoes, and will most probably die with hunger. An old man and a young girl died of hunger and cold, on their way here, about four miles from Beauprez. A scoundrel Puant passed by them, and without making a fire, left them to perish. A woman and two children were saved, and are now at Beauprez, but they are all insane, and will hardly recover.

I have not had less than fifty people per day here for these ten days past. They have "eaten me even to the nails." I have only two bushels of wheat remaining. The

[1] Prairie du Chien.

weather continues cold, but I hope that it will soon break. The express retards much from Mackinac; but the weather has been very bad. As it comes late I trust that we shall have good news. It will require strong measures in the Spring to keep matters right. The Sauteurs of the Ouisconsin have sent me word by the Lievre—The Hare—that they are all ready when the river opens; and all the Folles Avoines are well disposed. If the Indians from any quarter circulate bad reports, please inform them that I will punish them. Keep a list of their names.

Beauprez is just arrived with the cry of hunger; the family at his house are dying. I send you a list of the articles stolen from his house. I am heartily tired and sick of this place. There is no situation more miserable than to see objects around you dying with hunger, and unable to give them but little assistance. I have done what I could for them, and will in consequence starve myself. With best wishes,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

P. S.—Mr. Chandonnet might as well have passed the Winter with his Holiness, the Pope, at Rome. He did not procure intelligence from St. Joseph for which I sent him. His reason for his failure is unsatisfactory. I would not give two pence a dozen for such people.[1]

Lieut. Lawe, La Baye.

[1] J. B. Chandonnai was a half-breed—son of a Frenchman, and Chippewaqua, a Pottawatomie woman, and was probably a native of the St. Joseph's region, Michigan, and born as early as 1770. He was employed by Wm Burnett, an early trader, in that quarter, from 1792 to 1799, and, it may be, earlier and later. When the War of 1812 commenced, Robert Forsyth, the elder, was sent with a party from Detroit, among them Chandonnai, as emissaries to the Pottawatomies; and, at the same time, John Chandonnai, an uncle of the object of this notice, was sent by the British at Mackinaw, with a party of some thirty Indians, to conciliate the Pottawatomies and apprehend young Chandonnai for his attachment and sympathies for the Americans. The uncle and nephew meeting, the former made known his errand, when the latter warned his uncle if he persisted in his object, and over-stepped a designated line, he would shoot him; but the uncle drew his sword and advanced, and paid the forfeit of his life. The British Indian party, near by, hastened to the spot; to whom

DICKSON TO GRIGNON

WINNEBAGO LAKE, March 20,[1] 1814.

My Dear Sir:—With the greatest joy and satisfaction have I received your letter, with the express from Mackinaw; also the packets of newspapers which had been forgotten. Never has so much good news, and that so unexpected, come at the same time.

I wrote Lt. Lawe, in conjunction with you, to assemble the people, and Indians for a bon-fire; and at the same time

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young Chandonnai expressed his regret for having killed his uncle, but that he did it in self-defense, as he dared not trust himself in the hands of his enemies; and cautioned them, if they attempted to cross the line he had marked, he should not hesitate to kill as many of them as he could with his double-barreled gun. They beat a parley, and agreed to desist from their purpose, and return home, if Chandonnai would give them ten gallons of whisky, which he did.

At the time of the Chicago massacre, in August, 1812, Chandonnai was acting as a clerk for John Kinzie, a noted Indian trader at that place; and Mr. Kinzie committed his family to his charge, aided by two friendly Indians, upon whose fidelity he could rely, intending himself to assist the American garrison in their intended retirement to Fort Wayne. While Kinzie's family was protected by these Indians, the treacherous attack was made on the retiring garrison, Chandonnai rushed out, interceded for, and ransomed the wounded Mrs. Heald from her captor, and conveyed her and her husband, Capt. Heald, to St. Joseph's. From there in November following, Chandonnai and a friendly Indian conducted the Kinzie family to Detroit. He was one of the United States interpreters at the treaty of Greenville in 1814, and at Portage des Sioux and Spring Wells, in 1815. During the period 1818–19, and perhaps longer, he was engaged as an Indian trader in the Chicago region. At the treaty of Chicago in 1821, he was granted two sections of land on the St. Joseph's. He was a witness to the Chicago treaty of 1832; and at the treaty there in September, 1833, he was allowed a claim of $1,000.

It is said that he drew a pension from the United States for services in the War of 1812; but from Col. Dickson's letters, it would seem that Chandonnai was a soldier of fortune, and served wherever his interests dictated. L. C. D.

[1] Mrs. Charlotte Harteau and Peter B. Grignon, of Green Bay, though young at the time, remember that Col. Dickson's wintering-place was on the beautiful Island, since known as Doty's, now Neenah. It had from time immemorial been the locality of a prominent Winnebago village.

to drink with the health of his Majesty, the Prince Regent, and Sir George Prevost.

I am sorry to have detained the Indians so long a time; but I am [very] tired of the Winnebagoes and Foxes. The last messenger left Mr. Dease at the Sauk village on the Wisconsin.

At the moment I write this, no news of consequence comes in. Provisions are ready for a start; the canoes also [are ready] to come to the Portage.

Here Carver, in 1766, found the Winnebago queen, Ho-po-ke-o-kaw, or *The Glory of the Morning*, holding sway. She was the widow of the elder De-Kau-ray. It was known for many years as Four Legs' Village. This chief's Winnebago name was Hootshoapkau; known among the Menomonees as Neokautah; and, for a period, he claimed tribute from the Americans who passed his village. There are other traditions that Col. Dickson spent the fall and winter of 1813–14 on Doty's Island.

After the capture of Prairie du Chien, in July, 1814, Col. Dickson returned to Mackinaw for a supply of ammunition and Indian goods; but in consequence of the American attack on, and blockade of, Mackinaw, the arrival of the usual Indian supplies there was so delayed, that Dickson and his loaded barges were caught by cold weather, and frozen in, when they reached Garlic Island, where the Winnebago chief, Pesheu, or *The Wild Cat*, had a village, and was compelled to remain there till well into December, when he was able to proceed to Prairie du Chien, where he arrived early in January, 1815, after many difficulties, to the great relief of the Indians in that quarter, who relied on these annual supplies to carry them through the winter.

Grignon, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, 239, speaks of Dickson's being caught by freezing weather at Garlic Island; but erroneously places it in 1812–13. Capt. Wm. Powell and L. B. Porlier also mention it. C. J. Coon, an early Indian trader, and a pioneer settler at Oshkosh, states that Dickson wintered at Black Wolf's village, at Black Wolf's Point, half way between Oshkosh and Fond du Lac. He may have spent a portion of the time there. Maj. Charles Doty communicates an extract from the journal of his mother, Mrs. James D. Doty, of August, 1823, when accompanying her husband on his way to hold court at Prairie du Chien: "We coasted along the west shore of Lake Winnebago to Garlic Island, on the opposite point to which is a Winnebago village of fine permanent lodges, and fine corn-fields. In the Fall of 1814, the late Col. Dickson was stopped here by the ice, and compelled to remain during the Winter. He was on his way to Prairie du Chien to engage the Indians for the British, with seven boats loaded with goods for presents. He cleared the land now cultivated by the Indians." L. C. D.

Thanks for sending me your letters. In a day or two I will send the newspapers to you and to Mr. Lawe, and will also write you more fully. But I should be more glad to see you as soon as possible, for I have many things to tell you. You will try to send by express as soon as you can.

I think the Indians are very impatient to return to Mackinac. While I hope for the pleasure of seeing you very soon, accept my wishes for your health, and your family's.

I am, dear sir, your very humble servant,

R. Dickson.

I have sent you several letters for McKinac and La Baye.

Lieut. Grignon, La Baye.

DICKSON TO LAWE

Winnebago Lake, March 20, 1814.

Dear Sir:—On the 17th inst., I perceived the flag waving on the lake—the omen of favorable news, and which far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Nothing can be more glorious to our country than the late brilliant achievements, and will be attended with the most [happy] consequences. On the receipt of this, with Lt. Grignon, you will assemble the people and Indians to fire a salute, and to drink the King's health, the Prince Regent's and Sir George Prevost's. I have a great deal of private news independent of public, but I have been so pestered with Puants, Renards, etc., for these three days past, that it is out of my power to detail them at present. Mr. Dease, with three men, were left at the Village de Sauk, on the Ouisconsin, six days ago, on their way here. They are a set of bunglers—no snow-shoes nor provisions. I am afraid they are dead by this time. I send off to look for them to-day.

I have requested Mr. Grignon to endeavor to keep the Indians [from] going to Mackinack a day or two longer, to give the news from the Mississippi, in hopes of Mr. Dease's arrival. I will send you newspapers in a day or two. I have hardly looked at them yet. Mr. McGill died after an illness of only four days. I sincerely regret him. He was a worthy man. My brother William is arrived from captivity. He has had both his houses and furniture burnt, and

his wife and family turned out in the snow, almost naked, by the villains who have already paid for it. Your brother must also have been exchanged, as I see his name in the list. We ought to be grateful to Providence for what has taken place, and so unexpectedly. The Indians that are here, the Folles Avoines I mean, are quite happy. I have told the Sauks and Renards that they sleep too long. If they do not get up, that I shall rouse them with the hatchet, and that Britain suffers no neutrals.

Mr. Askins sending to L. Grignon's the express is of no consequence I know, to you; but I will, if I live, overhaul that gentleman. He has all along acted with the greatest impropriety. This is a horrid scrawl, but I will shortly make up for it by sending you a volume of news. I shall soon be on the move. I beg you not to give a needle to any Indian on the Milwaukee side. I am determined to punish those rascals.

With best wishes, I remain, dear sir,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

Mr. Dease is just arrived, almost starved—four days without eating. I will get a sufficiency of provisions at the Prairie.[1] No news of any consequence.

Lt. John Lawe, Ind. Dept, La Baye.

Fox River, April 19, 1814.

Dear Sir:— I received your separate favors of 11th, and that by the express, which brings us glorious news from Europe. I send you a *Montreal Gazette*, but not the latest. I have given Lt. Pullman a short detail of the European news. In Canada all is activity and bustle. Jonathan intends doing great things before the war ceases, and we must all exert ourselves to keep him out of the country. We are to be strongly reinforced at Mackinac. Officers of the Royal Navy marines, artillery and regulars, and in all upwards of five hundred men. I have directed Lt. Pullman to wait Mr.

[1] Prairie du Chien.

Grignon's arrival from the Portage which will be at latest on the 27th; nor do I think the Lake practicable before that time. He will be strongly manned, and have two good boats. I trust the provisions are ready. I wish as many Indians as can be got to accompany him, as it will be saving of provisions. You will please exert yourself to effect this.

I shall not lose a moment as I trust to be at La Baye by the 6th or 7th May. It is impossible for me to do otherwise without sacrificing the country; nor am I able to collect a force before that time. I shall write you from the Portage, which I think to reach on the 22d. We must use all diligence to get into Mackinac lest the Americans should be before-hand with us—keep this secret.

Get five or six bark canoes if you can, and [two or three words cannot be made out.] We have had great difficulty to pass the Lake; the ice is still a solid body and no appearance of its breaking up. I shall write you fully by Lt. Grignon. Gen. Wilkinson's camp had been abandoned at French Mills. All their heavy cannon left, and four hundred sleigh loads of stores, etc., brought off. Col. Morrison is gone with four thousand regulars to attack Plattsburgh. The expedition to Detroit has not yet taken place; but we shall hear soon more of that. Hondez will leave the house to-morrow. He will give his boat to Lt. Pullman.

With best wishes, I remain, dear sir,

Your most truly,

R. Dickson.

Lt. Lawe, La Baye, Per Le Goupe.

J. B. BERTHELOT TO GRIGNON

McKinac, May 1, 1814.

Sir:—Being assured that you will learn the good news which we have received by the couriers from York, I do not [trouble myself] to inform you of them. The reason is, that having an opportunity, I communicate them to Mr. Dickson, who cannot fail to make them known to you.

I have to inform you that we flatter ourselves that we can hold our Fort—thanks to the success we have had in the region of Niagara, as well as through the re-enforcement we expect this Spring of two hundred men, one [cannon], and thirty-two barges laden with provisions, followed by two gunboats netted [barricaded] in case of need.

I beg you to forward my baggage, if you have a good opportunity; or, if you have not, to take charge of it yourself, for I suppose we shall have the pleasure of seeing you. My compliments to Messrs. Pierre and Augustin Grignon, and Mr. Lawe.

Meantime I am, with consideration, Sir,

Your very humble servant and friend,

J. B. Berthelot.

Mr. Louis Grignon, La Baye.

WILLIAM McKAY TO JAMES PORLIER

Fort McKay, 28th July, 1814.

Sir:—Deeming it appropriate after the restoration of Fort Shelby to the arms of His Majesty under my command, to send my dispatches for Michilimackinac, it is for you to transmit them by an express canoe. For the expenses incurred, [if exorbitant?] I shall hold you responsible.

It is with great pleasure that I inform you, that the conduct and services of Lieut. Porlier, your son, have been far beyond what I dared to hope in a young man; and if his future conduct does not disappoint appearances, he will be an honor to the Canadian nation, and a useful man to his country.

Awaiting the pleasure of seeing you, I am,

Your obedient servant,

Wm. McKay, Lt. Col.

James [Jacques] Porlier, Green Bay.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LIEUT. GRIGNON, INDIAN DEPARTMENT

You will consider your station at La Baye, as an intermediate point of communication between Fort McKay, on the

Mississippi, and this Island, making it your study to do everything you can for the general good of the service, or for the particular advantage of either of these posts.

You will be ready to convey to the officer commanding at Fort McKay such dispatches as may be occasionally forwarded to him from this place, or such other information as may come to your knowledge, and which you may think it necessary that he should know. Should you also find that the post is threatened with an attack by the enemy, and you called upon for assistance by the commandant of Fort McKay, you will then, with the most indefatigable exertion, collect as soon as possible, as many of the Folles Avoines and Winnebago Indians as you can, and repair to his assistance, your brother, in such a case, supplying the necessary provisions.

The commandant attaches no small consequence to the exertions which he trusts you will make to obtain for the use of this garrison every barrel of flour that can possibly be furnished at Green Bay, and expects that you will spare neither time nor trouble in obtaining and forwarding, if possible, these supplies, of such importance to us, which if not furnished all in flour, the remainder must be sent in wheat.

Lieut. Col. McKay will perhaps be able to arrange with you some mode of contracting for and forwarding these supplies, which will be paid for at this place. Should any of the wives of the Indians who are on duty at this Island be in want, your brother may occasionally render them some assistance. Your utmost exertions will be required, as well as those of your brother, to hurry off the Folle Avoine Indians, who are required for the defense of this Island, with the utmost possible expedition.

Given under my hand, at Michilimackinac, this 21st of Augt., 1814.

RBT. MCDOUALL, LT. COL.,
Com'g at Michilimackinac.

SALE OF LAND BY PIERRE COUPI TO JOSEPH DUGUÉ
OCTOBER 6, 1814

In the absence of a notary, before the undersigned, witnesses were present—Pierre Coupi, vendor of a piece of land to Joseph Dugué, purchaser; said land containing four arpents of front, bounded by the Ohaw (?) river, and of such depth as shall be determined by a sworn surveyor or other officer appointed by the Government; joining on the lower side the land of Jean Marie Petel, and on the upper side the land of Francis St. Rock, which said land has been sold, and is sold, for the price and sum of five hundred and fifty pounds of money of the country, which shall be prairie wheat at the price of twenty-one pounds, which shall be delivered, ten minots on the first demand; and the remainder of the payment shall be in the course of the month of April, which shall be paid in wheat, or money of the country, by the said purchaser, who has said that he has frequently seen and visited [the land] both before and after making the purchase, and both parties have said that they are content and satisfied. There is some work to be completed, which the vendor shall cause to be completed, etc.

For thus, etc., promising, etc., renouncing, etc., it was done and transacted in the house of the said undersigned witness at one o'clock in the afternoon, [in the] presence [of] two other witnesses, viz., Sr. Hypolite Grignon, who has signed and Francis St. Rock, who has declared that he is unable to do so, being examined on that [subject] has made his usual mark, with the said vendor and the said purchaser, after reading made. And the said purchaser will enter into possession of the said land and house in the course of this month or the next.

At Green Bay this 6th of October, of the present year, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

Vendor
P'RE COUPI
his X mark.
Purchaser
his
JOSEPH X DUGUÉ
mark.

his
FRANÇOIS X ST. ROCK
mark.
CHLS. REAUME,
Witnesses.

ROBERT McDOUALL TO GRIGNON

MACKINA, 17th October, 1814.

Sir:—The bearer Corporal Monan, is to give his goods into your charge, and you are to send him back with as much expedition as you can possibly make. I wish you and Mr. Porlier, to send back, with the two boats, about one hundred and sixty bushels of wheat, or as much as you have ready, taking care not to load the boats too much. I am, however, exceedingly anxious that the boats should set off the day after they arrive, for fear they may meet with bad weather.

Tell Mr. Porlier I have stated to Government the losses that the Indians have occasioned, and that his wheat is paid for. You will be ready, and arrange it with Mr. Dickson to come here with the Folle Avoine and Winnebago Indians, the very instant the season permits, losing not a moment. Such women as they leave—and I would wish but few to come—Mr. Porlier must give some provisions to, and charge them to Government.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obed't serv't,

RBT. McDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Commanding.

Lieut. Grignon, Indian Department, Green Bay.

DICKSON TO GRIGNON

MICHILIMACKINAC, October 22d, 1814.

My Dear Sir:—Mr. Pullman, the bearer of this letter, will inform you of all the news. Try to engage the people of the Bay to ascend the Rapids, as the season is far advanced, and you will benefit your settlement by helping them.

I expect a canoe from Montreal, as it ought to arrive to-morrow, or day after to-morrow; I also made as good a journey as I could.

My respects to Mr. Porlier and your brothers. Hoping for the pleasure of seeing you

I am, my dear sir,

Your very obed't servant,

R. DICKSON.

Lt. Grignon, Indian Department, La Baye.

DICKSON TO LAWE

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, January 15, 1815.

Dear Sir:—This goes by La Rose, who will give you all the news in detail. We have been very busy here since our arrival—Indians arriving every day, so many that with the expedition I send to the Sauks, I have almost expended the whole of the goods and ammunition. There were four hundred pounds gunpowder entirely lost in Pullman's boats. We had much difficulty in getting here. The Mississippi was shut up the night before we arrived at the entry of the Ouisconsin. I received your letter. I am glad that the Indians are not dissatisfied with me. I have always done as much as in my power for them—if they were not better supplied with provisions last Summer at Mackinac, I did what I could for them with much trouble and vexation to myself.

I wish I could have got the keg you sent after me. It contains gun-flints, of which article I am much in want, and also gunpowder. I have hardly any remaining, and what shall we do in the Spring if not timely supplied? Probably there may be some come to La Baye by this time. I have been obliged to bring Mr. Rolette to a court of inquiry. I accused him publicly of treasonable practices, and dangerous and illegal conduct to the Indians. He certainly occasioned the death of Champigny and Antoine Dubois by his sending gunpowder to disaffected Indians against the positive orders of the commanding officer here. There are many other matters; it was only as an agent for the British Government that I preferred the charges against him. I had long ago forgiven his inveterate malice against me. In whatever manner it may end, I have only done my duty. La Rose will tell you the manner in which the Indian was shot, and the pains I took to get him apprehended. It was high time to do something of this kind, and there never was a more proper example, which I hope will be attended with the best effects.[1]

The Michigans, on the 31st of December, proceeded to open

[1] For the deaths of Champigny and Dubois, and execution of their murderer, see vol. ix, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, pp. 200, 201, 273–275, 296, 297.

mutiny in Fort McKay, but were checked by the spirited exertions of Capt. Bulger. The officers of the department shewed themselves on this occasion by entering the Fort on the first intimation of the mutiny. Three of the most guilty were selected for punishment, and received one hundred and fifty lashes, each of which they well merited. It has had a most surprising effect on them, and they begin to look like soldiers.

I have written Mr. Aird twice— he will make out well this year. I send Joseph Renville up to his house to remain until Spring. Duncan Graham goes down to the Sauks. We are badly off for provisions: the Indian department gets no rations. I have written Sir John Johnson to cause a proper supply of goods to be sent, should the war continue; Indian goods for the Western nations, at least five hundred pair strouds assorted. If this is not done, we shall not support our promises to the Indians. Our supplies have been totally insufficient hitherto, and I am afraid that the patience of numbers will be exhausted. I shall write you on another subject before La Rose goes. Remember me to your little family. With best wishes for your health and prosperity, I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

R. Dickson.

Lt. John Lawe, Green Bay.

McDOUALL TO GRIGNON

Michilimackinac, 4th March, 1815.

Sir:—I have by this express directed Lieut. Lawe, to bring in, accompanied by yourself, about ninety or a hundred Folle Avoine and Winnebago Indians; and if I have formed a proper estimate of your character, I doubt not but you will zealously exert yourself, in conjunction with him, in conquering any little difficulty which may be in the way of our obtaining this assistance, which is so necessary.

Give every assistance to Mr. Porlier in providing what may be necessary for the voyage; and it is absolutely requisite that they should be here as early as possible.

All that is required is, that we should stand our ground,

both here and at Fort McKay, for this ensuing campaign, measures being in contemplation which will afford us hereafter ample support and protection. I, therefore, doubt not, but that the loyal inhabitants of Green Bay will exert themselves to the utmost in supporting both posts as far as their means will admit.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RBT. McDOUALL, Lieut. Col.,
Commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies, and the Indian Department thereof.

Lieut. Grignon.

ASKIN TO LAWE

MICHILIMACKINAC, 6th March, 1815.

Dear Sir:—I am informed that Col. McDouall has written you and Lieut. Grignon to bring, at the opening of the navigation, from eighty to one hundred warriors; and as you are well aware of the difficulty we labored under last Summer from the instability of some of the tribes, who made repeated applications to be dismissed under frivolous pleas, I trust that as the number required are so few, you will spare no pains in selecting the steadiest and bravest men. The commandant intends to take notice of all the warriors who come to this with their arms in good repair, and is to order them something additional at the delivery of presents. I, therefore, hope that your people will appear fully accoutred after the hint I give you. La Rose has been detained in expectation that the York[1] courier would arrive to enable us to give you the news from below; but, as the season is far advanced, and we had had two days of uncommon thawing weather, the commandant has thought proper to send him away with directions for his making all possible diligence, so that the dispatches may reach the Prairie du Chien with as little delay as possible.

La Rose received his payment in cash, and I have given him an additional present to encourage him to exert himself in making all possible haste. The Indians also received

[1] Little York, now Toronto.

the payment you agreed with them. Should the express arrive before to-morrow, I will write again.

7th. No appearance of the York courier, so that La Rose must go to-morrow morning. And before I close I take the liberty of suggesting to you, that should the Indians continue to commit depredations as usual in killing cattle, the principal chiefs and others should be called to a council, and in council declare that you will make known to the commanding officer here, and the head of the Indian Department, the person who has behaved so ill, as well as the name of the chief to whose band he belongs, in order that their Father may detain clothing, etc., to the amount of the damage done. At the same time, not forgetting to write me their names, that a record thereof may be kept, and the King's bounty retained from them, if sanctioned by the officer commanding. And for you or any officer of the Department to transmit similar returns to Fort McKay to the Agent and Superintendent, that the same steps may be taken to check such devastations. A few examples will, I hope, put a stop to the mode those gentry have taken to ruin your settlement.

I enclose for your and Lieut. Grignon's information, a copy of a general order dated Kingston, 31st October last. By it you will perceive that the officer commanding has the command and superintendence of all the Indian Department. I detain Kay-po-di-yay, alias *Cut Nose*, until the York courier arrives. Please write Mr. Dickson that I did not receive any newspapers by the courier of December last, consequently have none (for the present) to send him.

Mrs. Askin joins me in best wishes, and am, dear sir,

Yours truly,

JNO. ASKIN, JR.

Lieut. John Lawe, Indian Department, Green Bay.

ASKIN TO GRIGNON

MICHILIMACKINAC, 7th March, 1815.

Dear Sir:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your sundry letters, and should have answered them by Inter-

preter McGulpin, had I not reason to believe that our York express would have arrived 'ere this period, to enable me to give you the news of Lower Canada; but as the commandant is apprehensive that the season is too far advanced to retard him any longer, he is ordered to proceed with all diligence.

As you may all be anxious to know the cause of the tardiness of the York mail, I will relieve your anxiety by letting you know that Wm. Gruck, with some Indians arrived in December last, and as the season was uncommonly mild, they could not be sent back before February—consequently the heads of departments at York could not, in my opinion, think of sending another express before the return of the one they sent.

Lieut. Cadot was sent to the Grand river in November last, and he returned in January. By him we received accounts of a body of Americans that went from Detroit to attack, or rather plunder, some of our farmers on the river La Trench or Thames. A body of our troops were sent from Fort George to meet them; and the result was, that on their meeting with our advanced guard, they commenced a fire, and ran away without giving the main body of our troops an opportunity of giving them a little of their steel. It is reported that our people are building a twenty gun sloop at Naw-tow-way-ging. Fort George is in such forwardness as to bid defiance to any attempts the enemy may make.

As Col. McDouall, who commands and superintends the whole Indian Department, has written you and Lieut. Lawe to repair to this [post] at the opening of navigation, with eighty or one hundred Indian warriors, I hope you will do your utmost to bring the steadiest and bravest men. You are well aware of the trouble we experienced last Summer in keeping a set of troublesome fellows, who were making frequent applications to be dismissed under frivolous pretexts. Therefore I trust you will select staunch and steady warriors, with their guns in good condition, as the commandant intends to order something additional at the delivery of presents, to those whose arms want no repair. As I know that it is your wish, as well as Lieut. Lawe's, to

do all the good you can for the deserving warriors, I hope you will both encourage them to keep their guns in such good order as will entitle them to the reward.

Lieut. Lawe will give you a copy of the General Order of the 31st October, 1814, whereby you will see that Lieut. Col. McDouall has the command and superintendence of us all.

No doubt McGulpin has informed you that the enemy were compelled to evacuate Fort Erie last Fall, so that the whole of Lower and Upper Canada, with the exception of Amherstburg, are freed from the American yoke. Mrs. Askin joins me in good wishes.

With my compliments to J. Porlier and P. Grignon, Esqs., wishing them joy on their appointments, I am, dear sir,

Yours most sincerely,

JNO. ASKIN, JR.

Lieut. Louis Grignon, Ind'n Dep't, Green Bay.

DUNCAN GRAHAM TO LAWE

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, 14th March, 1815.

Dear Sir:—Although I have nothing new to communicate, I wish to profit by every opportunity going your way, merely to let you know how we pass our time in this desolate part of the world. I arrived from below the 23d of last month. There is nothing interesting from that quarter. There were five or six Missouri Indians with the Sauks when I was there, and had their share of the presents. They say that all the Indians on the river lower than the Mohawks[1] are in a plot together to strike on the Americans this Spring. There were likewise some of the Iowas who left the rest of that nation three days march from the Mississippi on their way to join the Sauks.

They report that Julien [Dubuque], with one of his sons, and three or four men, went up the Missouri last Fall to winter with them; but he was wretchedly supplied with goods. He told them that he was afraid they would all perish together; that the Americans had neither guns nor am-

[1] As there were no Mohawks on the Mississippi, probably reference was made to the Shawanoes, in the southeastern part of Missouri.—L. C. D.

munition, nor any kind of goods to supply them with; and that it was only their English Father who had plenty of these articles; and that he purchased a number of horses. They think that his intention was to come this way. The Americans probably got word of it. A number of men came on horseback, and took everything he had from him. They were at this time a day's march from him. About ten or twelve days afterwards all their dogs came to the Iowas' camp, and remained there. They concluded from this that he and his men must have been killed; for had they taken them prisoners, the dogs of course would have followed them. They think that the Americans sent a party of Indians in their interest to cut them off. They were afraid to go to his house to know exactly what passed; and all this is only conjecture, and I give it to you word for word as I had it.

The Sauks and Foxes that were on the Missouri in favor with the Americans, with four other nations in alliance with them, were struck upon some time ago by the Mohawks [?], Pawnees, and other nations on the upper part of that river. The Sauks and their allies lost about one hundred men, and this they attribute to the treachery of the Americans.[1] They left the Missouri and have by this time joined their friends on the Mississippi, if not altogether satisfied with, at least firmly convinced of American generosity, as they were reduced to the point of making knives with old iron hoops. All the Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos and Iowas are now collecting to make but one village at the Rock river that will be at least one thousand five hundred men strong.

The only news those that came from Missouri brought, was, that the Americans were to pay us a visit here in the Spring, as early as the season would permit. If they come, I hope they will be well supplied with provisions—in that case we may not all die with hunger. Should they overpower us, they will give us something to eat; otherwise

[1] This must refer to Col. Henry Dodge's expedition up the Missouri, in Sept., 1814, against hostile Miamies. It is very likely that there were Sauks and Foxes among them. L. C. D.

should we be lucky enough to repel them, they will find it a difficult job to get off with their provision, as I candidly think that the greatest coward in the country will be an Alexander or a Cæsar to gain a piece of pork, or bottle of whisky.

Mr. Faribault has been up to the river St. Peter's, and stayed fifteen days at Mr. Aird's. There is nothing more interesting from there than anywhere else. The Indians were not come out yet. Mr. Aird was starving according to the custom of that second Nipigon [?] fifty lodges of Sioux went off last Fall with only ten double hands full of powder. They have not been heard of since. The rest of the Sioux think they perished with hunger. Reports of the same nature come daily from every quarter, of Indians dying with hunger for the want of ammunition. Let a person turn his head what way he will, he can find nothing but misery, famine and distress in all their various shapes, staring him in the face. And all this is owing to the shameful neglect on the part of the Government in not supplying the country better with ammunition in proper time. It is easier for you to judge than for me to describe our situation here. We are nearly on the eve of seeing upwards of two thousand Indians, and not a pipe of tobacco, nor a shot of powder to give them. As for eating it is out of question. I wish to ask you as a friend, whether you would wish to be a doorkeeper in hell, or be concerned in the Indian Department on such footing? I am sorry to say, that the wretchedness of this place has been augmented, if any addition could be made to its calamity, by the worst of evils—that is to say, party spirit; and that too, at such a critical period when the public safety would require union and good understanding among the whole.

Previous to my departure to go below, notwithstanding every gloomy object that surrounded us, we still lived on terms of amity and friendship; and I was much surprised on my return to find that a coolness, or rather a party disposition had taken place between the gentlemen of the garrison and the [Indian] Department. I do not pretend to say at present who was in the right, or who was in the wrong.

All that I can say is, that it caused Mr. Dickson more trouble of mind than anything he met with since the beginning of the war; and, to my certain knowledge, three months of this Winter have made him look ten years older than he is.

As for Capt. Bulger, I have the same opinion of him that I had before. I think him a just, impartial man, and in every respect a gentleman. But still it is a prevailing opinion here, that he is misled by flattery. This is a thing I will not ascertain. However, should it be the case, he is not the first one; some of the ablest kings that ever filled a throne have been misled, even to the block, and I am sorry to perceive that he has lost the greatest part of that attachment and fondness which the inhabitants of this place seemed to have for him in the begining.

Since my return from below, I find by different channels not to be questioned, that a certain person—and that, too, the last that could be suspected of being guilty of such low-lived, dirty actions—had, during the whole Winter, acted not only the part of a busy-body but that of a snake in the grass. It seems that this corrupted villain has been the sole author of all this misunderstanding. This perfidious wretch has long been sowing the seed of discord everywhere. Even those under whose roof he has been hospitably treated, have felt the effects of his slandering and unmanly, villainous behavior. It appears that the main object of this sneaking puppy was to undermine the whole [Indian] Department. He is an aspiring youth at everything that can be obtained by flattery, cringing, creeping, sneaking, pimping, by which means he has got into favor. But I hope a little time will bring everything to light, and then the devil shall have his due. Excuse me for not giving his name for the present. That I reserve till I have the pleasure of seeing you. It seems there was more than one concerned in all these slanders. I, who never interfere with any others' business, could not be exempted from calumniating reports to my prejudice while absent. They were of that nature that my present situation could not pass over them in silence. On finding out the author, Mr. Bouthelier, I obliged him to appear before the commanding officer for an explanation of

such malicious and slandering reports, when the whole matter was cleared up to be false by two sworn witnesses. I then left it to his option, either to sign a paper I made out for that purpose, acknowledging himself a lying, slandering villain, asking pardon in a humble, public manner; or run the risk of what would follow. Of the two he preferred the former, which saved me the trouble of anointing his back with the oil of hickory.

Capt. B.'s [Bulger's] voyage to La Baye has been a matter of discussion here amongst the learned, but no one yet has been able to surmise its real object. Even the Indians give their opinion, and some of them had the presumption to tell me to my face, that two of our chiefs ran away for fear of the Americans. By a proclamation issued some time ago, all the inhabitants of this place are requested to deliver one fourth part of all the wheat in their possession into the king's store. This appears to be a hard task for these poor, distressed people, as these orders were given out after they laid by what they could spare for seed, and the wretched remainder hardly sufficient to keep soul and body together till next harvest, which puts it out of the power of many of them to sow anything. I believe had they the means of doing it, they would all abandon the place. Hard times—two ruffles and no shirt—plenty of land and no wheat. But necessity knows no law; it is the fortune of war, and it is useless to complain.

Here we are, posted since last Fall, without news from any quarter, and destitute of provisions, sociability, harmony or good understanding. Not even a glass of grog, nor a pipe of tobacco, to pass away the time, and if a brief period don't bring a change for the better, I much dread the United Irishmen's wish will befall this place, which God forbid it should—a bad Winter, a worse Spring, a bloody Summer, and no king. Owing to scarcity of provisions here, a gloom appears on every countenance; and if ever I take an idea to resign, I mean to recommend Mr. Hurtibis to supply my place, as I think him the properest person in the time of famine, as he has no teeth. But Mr. Myeren might well spare him one of his fore tusks, which, if cut in rea-

sonable length, might fill up both of his jaws. As these gentlemen have these conveniences from one extremity to the other, they might make some arrangement for their mutual advantage.

I must conclude this long and useless letter after having endeavored in vain to give you a description of the wretchedness of this country—a task for which nature has not qualified me. To give it in its true light, would require the pen of an able historian. My compliments to Powell, Mr. Jacob, and Mr. Grignon. Please make them a share of this letter, as it is out of my power to write them separately for the want of paper, and I expect a few lines from you by the first opportunity.

Mr. Dease, Mr. Faribault, Mr. Honorie, and Mr. Dickson's compliments to you.

I remain, dear sir, your sincere friend, well wisher and very humble servant. D. Graham.

Mr. Lawe.

ASKIN TO LAWE

Michilimackinac, 25th April, 1815.

Sir:—I am commanded to inform you that peace between Great Britain and the United States has been concluded; and in the event of your being still at Green Bay, you will inform the Indians that their services at this place are not required at present. That their Father recommends that they plant corn so to enable them to subsist their families next Winter. When their corn is planted, they can then, if they wish, visit him, and receive a proportion of their Great Father's bounty, which will be here about the month of June.

The terms of peace will be communicated to them by some officer appointed by the commandant. You will inform the Indians, that they are, from the receipt hereof, to desist from any hostilities against the Americans. I am also commanded to inform you, that it is the commandant's wish that you will, without loss of time, send a message to Milwaukee, to tell them the same news, and to prevent their

committing any hostile act against the Americans. Lieut. Langlade, of the Indian Department, is the bearer of these dispatches.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obed't serv't,

JNO. ASKIN, JR.,
Captain.

Lieut. Lawe, Indian Department.

P. S.—One of the articles of the treaty stipulates, that the whole of the Indian tribes are included.

You will send the commandant's letters, etc., to Capt. Bulger with the utmost expedition.

WRIT ISSUED BY REAUME, IN 1816

By authority of the United States, etc.

Pierre Chalifoux, constable, [is] authorized by the United States to take André La Chaine with him, to search for the property which Mr. John Dousman left at Green Bay, carried away from the house of Mr. Reaume by Jean B'te La Borde, and transferred to different houses by the said La Borde, his[1] father-in-law. Thereupon, the two persons who shall make the recovery [of the property], shall cause it to be brought and carried to the house of the undersigned so that an inventory may be made of it, and that it may be delivered to Mr. John Drew, who shall have it put aboard the Mink. The present [writ] is granted to be executed at Green Bay, on the 10th of August of the present year, 1816.

Signed: CHLES REAUME,
Justice of the Peace.

DICKSON TO LAWE

Eighteen miles from LA BAYE,[2]
November 25th, 1816.

Dear Lawe:—After a series of storms and difficulties, I have got so far. We left Mackinac * * * *

[1] Dousman's. But Mr. La Borde was in fact Mr. Dousman's brother-in-law.

[2] This letter is endorsed by Judge Lawe, as written at "Red River," which is a southern tributary of Green Bay, in Kewaunee County.

and found the ice a short distance from this place. Maj. Taylor[1] with Capt. Gray, and Lieut. Hopkins came with me. Maj. Taylor will command at La Baye when Col. Chambers goes away, which will be early in the Spring. I have much to relate to you, but in the meantime please rent the mission house for the Winter; and send me by the men, if you can, fifty pounds of pork, fifty pounds of flour, one bushel hulled corn, and two pounds of salt. Please furnish the men with moccasins, and send me three or four dressed skins. I have here my baggage, and William has forty packs of goods. If practicable for horse-trains, I will thank you to send them. It is not light when I write this, but hope that you may be able to read it. My kind respects to your family. My compliments to Mr. Louis Grignon.

I remain, yours truly,

R. Dickson.

JUDGMENT OF REAUME RENDERED IN 1817

District of Green Bay.

Dominique Brunette Domicilla, Demandant [pl'ff.] | Court of Justice of the Peace, Friday, the 25th April, 1817.

Joseph Boiverd, Defendant. The Justice of the Peace having heard the demandant, [plaintiff] in his demands, and the defendant in his answers [oppositions] has condemned the demandant to pay the expenses of the court, and to be barred of his demands, after arbitrators had been offered to him, in the presence of the auditors, who would have been able to render justice to the two litigants in case he was not willing without reference to my judgment; although the said demandant, in his proceeding, knew well that he could not insist upon having any rights upon the subject of letting the pigs run, which entered several times wrongfully [on defendant's land?], after he [plaintiff] had been several times warned to take them away; and it happened that the said defendant in chasing them, killed one of

[1] Zachary Taylor, since president.

them. Thereupon the said defendant has been condemned to lose his pig, and pay the expenses of the court; which judgement has been rendered by me to the best of my knowledge.

(Signed) CHLES REAUME,

One and a half piastre. Justice of the Peace.

DICKSON TO LAWE

SAULT ST. MARY'S, June 19, 1817.

Dear Lawe:—I have been at this place six days, detained by one of the commissioners, who will not allow Lord Selkirk's brigade[1] to proceed. However, I go off in a light canoe to-morrow, with Mr. Gale, a lawyer of great abilities, employed by his Lordship. It is impossible to convey to you an adequate idea of the villainy of the North West [Fur Company]; suffice it to say, that they have been guilty of every crime whose black catalogue has disgraced the human race. Something very serious is still apprehended; but I trust that no accident may befall his Lordship. Since I have begun this, Mr. Crooks has arrived, and from what I have learned from him, there can be no impediment to your going into the country. It will, therefore, be incumbent on you to proceed with all celerity, and get the Indians to accompany you, and go as high as possible. I shall get the goods I want at Lake Ouinipigue [Winnipeg] from the Hudson's Bay [Company], and shall lose no time in ascending the Red River.

I hope you will be able to furnish Faribault, and to find Renville what he requires. Renville will meet you at the entry of St. Peter's. For heaven's sake be expeditious. I have learned much respecting the country from people well acquainted with it. It is a fine country, abounding in furs of all kinds. I think that you had better take, if you can procure them, four small canoes—say bark canoes. It will enable you to proceed with more ease, and may prevent others from following you. I have taken care that Thomas and his people will be well treated at Drummond's Island. I enclose this to you in a letter to Mr. Abbot, who will de-

[1] Brigade of boats or canoes.

liver it into your own hands. I will write you on my arrival at his Lordship's establishment near Fort William. Please pay Dease for me seventy or seventy-three dollars; and settle my account with Mr. Aird. I think that I owe him sixty. This is all, and I shall reimburse you for the one hundred and twenty-five pounds, if there this Fall. I got my bat [baggage] and forage money, which is of service. I have sold my property at Mackinack. Remember me to the Grignons.

I shall write you about our Indian Department officers. Governor Gore is gone home. I think if you have fifteen or twenty pair strouds with you—Faribault's and Williams' not included, it will be sufficient—as I shall have an excellent quantity of goods should no accident happen. Goods can be furnished at the Red [river] as cheap as at Montreal. You will see the advantages that are to be obtained. Lose no time. By next [opportunity] I shall write you more at large.

With best wishes for your health, I remain,

Yours most truly,

R. Dickson.

Mr. John Lawe, Michilimackinac.

Inhabitants at Green Bay, September 14, 1818

By J. B. S. Jacobs, Sr. (Explanations by M. S. Martin)

West Side of Fox River.

Names.	*Explanations.*
Norman	Amable, an old man, related to the Grignons.
Lalond	Believed to be a nickname—true name unknown—tenant of L. Grignon.
Mr. Porlier	Jacques—principal trader, and farmer.
Guardepie	Alexis—voyageur.
C. B. Masca	Nickname; really Dominique Brunette, Sr.
Bell	Dennis—farmer for J. Lawe.
P. Grignon.	Paul, son of Pierre Grignon, Sr.

Mr. Gravalle	Louis—farmer and voyageur.
Jean ———	Jean or Jacques Veaux, father-in-law of Solomon Juneau, trader.
P. Brunet	Perische, farmer for L. Grignon.
L. Grignon.	Louis, son of Pierre Grignon, Sr., farm on west side.
Widow Liquier	Widow of Jacques Lequier, or Lacuyer, a trader, who died at Portage City.
Col. Bowyer	Col. John Bowyer, Indian agent. Two mills back of Bowyer's, on Dutchman's creek.
P. Willrick	Pierre Ulrick, called "The Dutchman."
Augt. Tibeau	Farmer for Lawe.
Jean Ven	John Baptist Vine, farmer, son-in-law of Brisk Hyatt.
Ritchard	Prichet, a discharged soldier.
Bontair	Auguste Bonteire, voyageur.
J. Dousman	John Dousman, son-in-law of J. B. Laborde, trader and farmer.
P. Grignon	Perishe, half Winnebago, son of Pierre Grignon, Sr.
Charles Reaume, Esq.	Lower Kakolin.
Augt. Grignon	Big Kakolin, son of Pierre Grignon, Sr.

Twenty-five in all, with large families.

East Side of Fox River.

Mr. Longevine	John B. Longevine, husband of the widow of Pierre Grignon, Sr.
P. Grignon.	Pierre Grignon, Jr., one of the principal traders.
Fortier	Lament, a farmer, died only a few years ago, at the Bay settlement.
Gourden	Joseph Jourdain. His house was standing until destroyed by fire in 1884.
Mr. Lawe	John Lawe, one of the principal traders and farm owners.
L. Grignon	Louis Grignon, son of Pierre Grignon, Sr., trader and farm owner.
Mr. Rouse	Lewis, trader; came to Green Bay with the troops in 1816.
Widow Deroshez	Widow of Amable Derocher, Sr., voyageur.
La Rock	Basil La Rock, farmer.
La Born	John B. Laborde, Sr., farmer.
Ducharme	Joseph, one of the principal farmers.
Pelligor	John B. Pelligon, farmer for J. Lawe.

St. Rock . . Francis Larock, farmer for J. Lawe.
Bourdon . . Louis, farmer.
Pruden . . Langlois, farmer.
Bt. Grignon . John Baptiste, son of Pierre Grignon, Sr., farmer.
Prevoncelle . Nickname; really Pierre Carboneau, farmer.
Houlle . . Joseph Houlle, voyageur and farmer.
P. Prevoncelle . Pierre Carboneau, Jr., farmer.

Rapides—Mr. Law's farm, occupied by a tenant.

Mr. J. Jacobs . J. B. S. Jacobs, school teacher, father of John B. Jacobs, Jr.
Widow Chevalier . Widow of Bartholomew Chevalier, and mother of Mrs. Jacobs.

J. Dousman's Distillery

[On both sides of the river, forty-seven inhabitants and farmers, besides a good many who have taken up lands not yet cultivated.—Note by Mr. Jacobs.]

Exact List of Settlers at Green Bay, beginning from the Late St. Liew[1]

ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE FOX RIVER

Arnable Normand, 3 arpents [frontage?].
Jacque Porlier, 1½ arpents.
Alexis Guardepie, 1½ arpents.
Widow Macabe, 3½ arpents.
Dominique Brunette, 6 arpents.
Joseph Boivend for Domitelle Grignon, 6 arpents.
Hypolite Grignon, 3 arpents.
Louis Gravel, 6 arpents.
Jacque Vieau, 2¾ arpents.
Jean Baptist Brunet, pere, 3 arpents.
Prisque Aillotte, 6 arpents.
Widow Emyen, 7 arpents.
John Boyer, Esq., 6½ arpents.
Pierre Ulrick, pere, about 8 arpents.
Augustin Tibault, 3 arpents.
Jean Baptist Vaine, 4 arpents.

[1] Preserved among papers of Reaume and presented to the Society by Frank Tilton, of Green Bay. Unfortunately un-dated, but presumably about the same period as preceding list by Jacobs. L. C. D.

Augustin Bonneterre, 3 arpents.
John Dousman, 4 arpents.
Pierishe Grignon, 3 arpents.
Augustin Grignon, at Kakalin, 8 arpents.

Within these limits, between all these lots, there is a good deal of land which is not occupied at all, except eight or nine arpents where the Indians make their descent to the bank of the river.

ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE RIVER

Jean Baptist Langevin, pere.
Pierre Grignon, two lots.
Augustin Grignon.
John Lawe, for Mr. Frank.
Joseph Jourdain.
Louis Grignon.
Pierre Chalifoux.
McKail Dousman, two lots.
Amable Durocher.
Basil La Rock.
John Dousman, two lots.
Joseph Ducharme.
Jacque Porlier, two lots.
———Madround.
Jean Baptist La Bord.
Louis Bourdon.
André La Chaine.
Joseph Roy.
Jean Baptist Grignon.
Pierre Carbonneau.
Joseph Houlle.
Jean Baptist Jacobs.
Barthelemie Chevalier.
Pierre Ulrick, Jr.
Pierre Carbonneau, Jr.
Jean Baptist Brodeur.
Louis Dubée.
Jean Baptist Langevin, Jr.

To this Judge Martin adds: The Green Bay settlement must have extended a very trifle from 1818 to 1827, when I first saw it. There was but three or four what could be called farms. Most of the inhabitants had small log huts, and cultivated small patches of ground around them. There were no roads—a wagon road was unknown; travel in the Summer was on horseback, and in Winter with trains or carryalls through the forests, and on the ice of the river and smaller streams.

Pierre, Louis, and Auguste Grignon, Lawe, Jos. Ducharme, Hyatt and Porlier, were the principal farmers—some of their farms were occupied by tenants, who were frequently those who wintered with their employers in the Indian country engaged in trade with the natives.

Louis Bauprez was a trader who followed up the Indians in their wintering grounds; in Summer was with his family at the settlement. His hut was mid-way between the mouth of the Fox River, and the Rapide des Peres, around which he had a small enclosure.

All these enclosures of men more or less employed as laborers by the traders, were cultivated by their women whom they called *wives,* but really Indian women with whom they lived after the Indian custom.

Ulrick lived on the north side of Dutchman's Creek, and Boyer's place on the south, running back to the stream where the mills were located, which belonged to Pierre Grignon, Jr., occupied by a tenant—I think, Tibeau.

In the preceding list I have in the name of "Richard," followed the suggestion of Mrs. Harteau, an intelligent and estimable lady of Green Bay, daughter of the late Louis Grignon, she thinking that Richard Prichet was the person referred to, who lived near Col. Boyer's. I learned from Prichet himself, in 1827, that he was born in Pennsylvania, and, when thirteen years of age, was captured by the Shawanoe Indians on Bear Creek, a tributary of the Allegheny River, in Armstrong County; and, after some years, was given to the Chippewas, by whom he was taken to or near Mackinaw among the Ottawas. Growing to man's estate, he married a Chippewa woman, and became a government interpreter at Mackinaw; and subsequently at Green Bay, having removed there with Col. Bowyer in 1816, when the Indian Agency was located at that place. While in my office, in 1827, Prichet met a man from Ohio, a casual trader, whose mother's maiden name was Prichet. It appeared on further conversation, that the Ohio man was Prichet's nephew; and, on his invitation, Prichet visited Ohio that Fall, and there found several members of his family, none of whom had heard anything of him before since his captivity. He was then about fifty years of age, and died a few years after, leaving a family of several children, one of whom, Talbot Prichet, now resides in Shawano County, a few miles from Capt. Powell's.

DICKSON TO LAWE

LAKE TRAVERSE, April 18, 1821.

Dear Sir:—Although I have no interesting news to tell you, I have the pleasure of writing to you these few lines to inform you of our situation at this place. Since we have

been here, we have always lived without any trade; but I believe that we are going to commence this year. I left my father[1] in good health when I left the Red river. There is every kind of trade at the Red river. There is an association formed this year there, from London, for [the purchase of] buffalo skins. They give ten shillings sterling per hide. We have two shares in this company. Mr. Powell [is] with me this year without any arrangement. He is there only to live. There is to-day much talk and complaint against him to the Governor, through the misconduct of Mr. Graham. I am here at Mr. Renville's block-house. I am to return in nine days from this time. Mr. Graham is [bound] for the North-West, and Mr. Pullman is with him here.

I close, wishing you good health and all sorts of prosperity. Excuse the writing.

Your humble servant,

William Dickson.[2]

John Lawe, Esq., Green Bay.

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[1] Col. Robert Dickson.

[2] This Wm. Dickson, was a half-breed—son of Col. Robert Dickson and a Sioux woman. His letter, written in French, evinces some scholarship. He accompanied an Indian delegation to visit the president in 1824; and was still a licensed trader at Lake Traverse in 1826. We learn from Neill's *Minnesota*, that in 1836, Mr. Dickson, styling himself General of the Indian Liberating Army, with several others, appeared in the Red River settlement, endeavoring to enlist the settlers in a project to unite all the Indian nations under a common government, of which he was to be the head, with the title of Montezuma the Second. His officers were dressed in showy uniforms and glittering epaulettes. The cold weather set in before their arrival at Red River, and Dickson had his toes frozen off, which crippled him as well as the whole enterprise. L. C. D.

Papers of Thomas G. Anderson, British Indian Agent, 1814-21

G. H. MONK TO ANDERSON

MICHILIMACKINAC, 21st August, 1814.

Sir:—By the direction of Lt. Col. McDouall, I have to acquaint you, that should Lt. Col. McKay not have left with you instructions fully to answer the necessity of providing the garrison of Prairie des Chiens, that you will adopt, as early as possible on receiving this communication, the following plan, viz: That you make out weekly certificates of the number of the garrison under your command, and which you may be authorized to provide for at the public expense; and grant your orders in conformity thereto, on such persons as will provide the necessary quantity of provisions at the most reasonable rate—which orders, when produced at this post, will be settled for agreeably to the price you may have judged proper to grant, and which should be marked on your weekly certificates.

Those orders, together with the certificates—which latter you will please forward to the officer coming here—will be, I am persuaded, the safest and easiest mode of settling for the victualing of your garrison.

I remain, sir, your very obt. servant,

G. H. MONK.

To Capt. ANDERSON, Mississippi Volunteers,
or officer commanding at Prairie des Chiens.

WINNEBAGOES AT THE PEACE OF 1814

At a council at Mackinaw, June 3d, 1815, between Sau-sa-mau-nee, Black Wolf, and Ne-o-kau-tah or Four Legs, Winnebago Chiefs, accompanied by about forty warriors, and Lieut. Col. Robert McDouall, commanding Mackinaw and its dependencies, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Lieut. Col. Wm. McKay, Deputy Superintendent and Agent of Indian Affairs, with Lieut. Jos. Cadot, Indian Department, and Louis Barthe, interpreter.

Sau-sa-mau-nee, apparently, Speaker:

Father!—Listen to your children, and open your ears. It is the voice of your children, the Winnebagoes, who speak for the principal part of the Nation.

Father!—Last Winter and this Spring your speeches reached us, it gave us pleasure to find that you invited us to this place to assist in defending so important a point. We, the Winnebagoes, were desirous of meeting our inveterate enemy, the Big Knives.

Father!—Shortly after your invitation reached us, we received information of your having made peace with those bad people, the Big Knives—which intelligence was not pleasing, for we hate those Big Knives.

Father!—Since our arrival here, we see plainly that you have actually made peace. We have seen your young men removing your big guns from the Fort to the water side, which denotes plainly that you intend to give up this Island—this important post, that has afforded support to all your red children to the westward.

Father!—You promised us repeatedly, that this place would not be given up; and if you actually intend to abandon us to our inveterate enemy, who always sought our destruction, it would be better that you had us killed at once, rather than expose us to a lingering death. It is probable that the Americans may not at first show their intentions of destroying us immediately; but we are fully persuaded that they will avail themselves of the first opportunity for exterminating us.

Father!—The peace made between you and the Big Knives, may be a lasting one; but it cannot be for us, for we hate them; they have so often deceived us that we cannot put any faith in them.

Father!—We assisted you three years ago to take this Island from the Big Knives; and as you told us to consider part of it as belonging to us we have done so, and *can not think* of giving up our part to the Big Knives.

Father!—Our Great Father beyond the Great Lake is a tender parent; but when he agreed to give up this place to

the Big Knives, he did not reflect that he was putting us in the power of our great enemy.

Father!—Our Nation has not yet taken the Big Knives by the hand, and it is a doubt to us here present, if our brethren, who are in the interior of the country, agree to bury the hatchet. For our part, we will consider what we intend to do, and speak again to you before we depart for our respective homes.

On the 7th of June following, the same parties met again, when young Sau-sa-mau-nee rose and said:

Father!—Your children, the Winnebagoes, addressed you some days ago, and told you that they would again speak to you before they would take their leave of you.

Father!—Though we regret much that this Island which we have fought for, is to be given back to the Big Knives, yet we must submit, for it is the doings of our Great Father beyond the Big Salt Lake, and we know well it is not your fault. We believe you have done what was in your power to prevent it being given up.

Father!—Our Nation has always been considered as a turbulent set; it is owing entirely to our being independent people, who have made our enemies always feel the weight of our anger. We have in this, and in the former war, done our duty as warriors, which is well known to the rest of your red children. The Big Knives hate us more than the other nations on that account.

Father!—When we left our country to come to this place, our brethren that remained were pensive and melancholy. Distress was painted on their countenances. The news of your having made peace with the Big Knives was the cause of their distress. We are anxious to get back to them in order to acquaint them of your sentiments, and desire them to "bury the hatchet." We are fearful that before we get back to our country, some may have foolishly gone to war, contrary to the promise they had made us previous to our leaving them.

Father!—Some of our chiefs propose going to Quebec for the purpose of seeing our Great Father, who gave our Nation,

through me, an invitation to visit him every mid-day.[1] We therefore request you will permit our interpreter to accompany them down.

Father!—Your children are destitute of clothing. We request you will afford us some clothing. Our women request match-i-ko-tahs. Our little children are entirely naked.

Father!—As we do not believe that the peace will be of long duration, we will always be ready at a short warning.

Father!—Your children want to draw near your breast.[2] They have not been troublesome in this way.

SPEECHES OF BLACK HAWK AND NAIOGUIMAN, AT DRUMMOND ISLAND, JULY 12, 1821

Present, Lieut. Col. Wm. McKay, British Indian Superintendent; Capt. Thos. G. Anderson, Clerk; Maj. James Winnett, and other officers of the Sixty-Eighth British Regiment, together with Lieut. L. Johnston, and three interpreters of the Indian Department.

The Black Hawk, speaker:

"*Father!*—I am not very able to speak—probably I may say something improper. I may have something to reproach my father with. I could not get any of my chiefs to come with me. One of the Renard or Fox chiefs accompanied me, and some of the Menomonees who reside amongst us. My mind has been entirely taken up, since I left home, with the idea that every stroke of my paddle carried me nearer to my Great Fathers' fire, where his soldiers, the red coats, would be charitable to me, and cover my naked skin; and that, in consequence of my not having been able, for three years, to step across the barriers, which separate us from them, I would receive a double proportion of my Great Father's bounty.

The Americans, my father, surround us but we are ever ready to meet them. Now, my father, as we see you but

[1] Middle of the year.
[2] The Indian mode of begging for liquor.

seldom, I hope you will open your stores and give us more presents than you do to other Indians who visit you annually. Now I speak to you, my father, in hopes you will be charitable to us, and give us something to take to our wives and children. They are expecting to be warmed by the clothing of their Great Father."

Taking some strings of wampum, he added: *"Father!*—I got this from the White Elk (Capt. McKee) to open a smoother path from our country to all your fires. I spoke to the Pottawatomies with it, and they were happy to accede to our proposals of friendship. Now, my father, we have always obeyed your voice, and will ever listen to your counsels. With regard to the Indians, we have a good road from our country to your fires; but there are whites who appear strong, and tell us they will not allow us to see you any more. Should that be the case, we will be miserable. But if the road continues good, as Capt. McKee told us it would, we will see you every day (year)." Delivered the wampum.

Answer of the Superintendent:

"Children!—I have listened to your discourse—every word has entered into my ears. When you came here, three days (years) ago I gave you, of your Great Father's bounty, a much greater proportion than I did to other Indians, and told you your presents would in future be given to you at Amherstburg. You were displeased. You went away dissatisfied. I have again, this year, treated you well. You appear dissatisfied still, and want more. I now tell you that your presents are at Amherstburg, and that in future you must go there if you wish to receive your Great Father's bounty. I have done everything in my power to please you and render you happy; but my efforts appear to have been thrown away upon you. Go home, and I do not wish to see dissatisfied children about me again. With respect to the road being stopped up, as you say, that is news to me. I do not know that any steps have been taken to effect that; and indeed if you behave yourselves, as I have always recommended you to do, I do not believe you will be hindered from seeing your Great Father's fires."

Na-i-o-gui-man, a Chippewa speaker:

"Father!—I have not much to ask of you. I return you thanks for what I have received. I am not a chief. The young men sometimes invite me to their wigwams, and light this pipe for me (a war pipe). I have heard you say be careful of your traders. I listen to your voice. I am about to tell you of our folly. This pipe I am not master of. The young men sometimes press me to smoke out of it [press him, being a war-leader, to lead them against the enemy]. Some of them have more sense, and know that your advice to them, to remain at peace, is better than going to war. I therefore deliver you my war club (war pipe), and beg for some of my good young men, more guns, kettles, tobacco and provisions." Then delivered the pipe.

Superintendent's reply:

"Children!—I approve much of your determination to give up that bad practice of carrying on a war with the people of your own color. It cannot be productive of any good, and might lead you to continue that bad practice, and be destructive to your families. Therefore, you have acted wisely in giving up your war club. I will give to your young men, one gun, one kettle, and a little provision."

COUNCIL WITH SAUK INDIANS AT DRUMMOND ISLAND, JULY 30TH, 1821

Col. McKay, British Indian Superintendent, Capt. Thos. G. Anderson, clerk and interpreter, Maj. Winnett and other officers of the Sixty-Eighth regiment, and several interpreters of the Indian Department present.

We-tau-wau-no-quet, speaker, holding some strings of wampum in his hand, said:

"Father!—We have come to give you news from the chiefs of our village. This is the parole we received from the English at the stone house (Fort George) last Fall. We have attended and always will attend to the words of our Great Father beyond the Salt Lake. You see the day in which we talk to you is fine. You see the water on which we voyaged to this fire is smooth; the earth is clothed in all

its beauties. All, my father, was made by the Great Master of Life. He hears us. What we say is the truth. We have not forgot the words of our Great Father. We will never forget what you have said to us. Now, my father, we are distressed in our own country. I called upon the two chiefs seated there to show you your paroles. I asked them to accompany me here.

"*Father!*—I have been speaking for the warriors; the chiefs will now talk to you."

Met-che-quai-au, holding the same wampum in his hand, said:

"*Father!*—What the warriors have said to you is the truth. I am now going to tell you the opinion of the chiefs. I believe the Great Master of Life supports us. He made everything. I am happy to have got into your house. It was intended by the Great Spirit that we should stretch out our arms and join our hands to yours. We hold you fast and will continue to do so." Dividing the wampum into two parts, and holding one half in his hand, he continued:

"This is the Red Head's[1] message. He sent it to us by the way of the Rock river, two nights ago, and told us in the words of our Great Father, saying: 'This, my children, will give you life. Those who listen to the words I tell you will never want. When any of the Red Coats see this message, they will be charitable to you.' When he delivered us his speech, he told us to make it known to all the surrounding nations, and desire them to unite in our opinion that the Great Spirit is opening a road to make you forever happy; and 'I tell you,' he added, 'the truth. Sauks and Renards, hold fast of your lands. Whenever you wish to direct your voyages towards the Red Coats, you will be well received. The doors will be always open to receive you. When you see the whites in your country, I hope you will be careful of them.'"

Taking the remaining half of wampum, and selecting a single string from the bunch, he continued:

"This is from the Nau-do-ways; the remainder we re-

[1] Col. Robert Dickson, British trader.

ceived from the English at the stone house last Fall. Our chiefs are again gone to the stone house, to hear more news."

Then, taking up the wampum in his hand, and holding it by the middle, said:

"I have told you the words on that part of the message above my hand. It came by different routes to our village under ground, but all on the same subject. I cannot repeat this part of it (below his hand) at present. Our Great Father recollects the remainder. You, my brother warriors, cannot be ignorant of what is going on. It is, therefore, not necessary to repeat anything more. I hope my Great Father's soldiers make one with us. My father, you have heard us speak. Think of us, and say to yourself, My children are poor. I have repeated the words of my father. We came here to hear if you had any more news for us. I have nothing more to say."

Answer, by the Superintendent:

"*Children!*—Your father has listened to you with great attention. He has not allowed one word to escape unnoticed. He is truly happy to see you all in good health. When your war chief, Black Hawk, was here, a few nights ago, I told him to inform you that your presents would in future be given to you at Amherstburg. Your Great Father, the king, is not unacquainted with the different routes from your country to his fires, and knowing your situation with regard to voyaging, has, to make it more convenient for you, directed your presents to be issued at Amherstburg, where you must go for them for the time to come, and not come here any more for the purpose of being clothed. Your father has, by depriving other Indians, and, as if by stealth, managed to give you a few articles; but you must not expect anything more. Your Great Father, the king, cannot tell an untruth. The promises he makes are inviolable. You see them fulfilled every day. Follow his advice, and you will be happy. I have nothing further to say to you at present. I wish the Great Spirit may protect you, and enable you to arrive safe in your own country."

Indian Campaign of 1832

By Capt. Henry Smith, of Atkinson's Brigade

Henry Smith, the writer of the following valuable narrative of the Black Hawk War—the first detailed sketch of that contest that ever appeared in print—was of Scotch-Irish descent, born at Stillwater, N. Y., Sept. 25, 1798. He became a cadet at the Military Academy in May, 1813; and graduating, entered the artillery as third lieutenant, in March, 1815. He was promoted to a second lieutenancy in the Second Infantry, in June, 1816. He served as adjutant in 1818–19; regimental quartermaster, in 1820–21, serving as such at Green Bay in 1822; first lieutenant and assistant quartermaster in 1823, in which year he was assigned to the Sixth Infantry. He served as an aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. Scott in 1823–26, and was promoted to the rank of captain, in July of the latter year, and acted as quartermaster from April, 1826, to Oct., 1830.

During the Black Hawk War, in 1832, he served at the head of his company in Gen. Atkinson's brigade, and had the best of opportunities to learn all the leading facts and events connected with that frontier service. He resigned from the army in Nov., 1836. From that time until 1840, he served as a civil engineer, superintending United States harbor improvements on the lakes, in New York, Ohio, and Michigan. He was a member of the Michigan assembly in 1837 and 1840; disbursing agent of the Indian department in 1838; major-general of the Michigan militia in 1841–46; and mayor of Monroe, Michigan, in 1846. On the 3d of March, 1847, he was appointed quartermaster in the army, with the rank of major, serving first at Detroit, and then on the staff of Gen. Scott in Mexico. Courageous and high-spirited, he promptly repaired to the front at Vera Cruz, fully conscious of the danger of the climate at that season of the year, where he soon fell a victim to the yellow fever, July 24th, 1847, in his forty-ninth year.

Capt. Smith's paper on the "Indian Campaign of 1832," was written in 1833 at the request of the conductors of the *Military and Naval Magazine*, published at Washington; and appeared in August of that year, as written "by an officer of Gen. Atkinson's Brigade." It was thus prepared while the recollections of that frontier service were yet fresh in his memory. He left a copy in manuscript, which was furnished by his daughter, Mrs. A. W. Snyder, of Rockford, Ill., to the *Journal* of that city, in which it appeared August 12th, 1882, and copied into the Milwaukee *Republican-Sentinel*, of the following 17th and 24th of September. These two copies have been carefully collated, and errors correc-

ted. It will prove a valuable addition to the history of the Black Hawk War. His public services, for a period of thirty-four years, were varied and eventful, and alike honorable to himself and useful to his country.

Early in life he married Miss Elvira Foster. She died at Watertown, N. Y., in 1879. Seven of their children yet survive—five daughters and two sons; one of the latter is Hon. Winfield Smith, of Milwaukee, formerly attorney-general of the State. Maj. Smith was about five feet, six inches in height, of about one hundred and sixty pounds weight, with ruddy complexion, gray eyes, and brown hair—of handsome appearance, erect, and of military bearing.

It is justly said of him, in the *U. S. Biographical Dictionary* for Wisconsin, that "he was an able and accomplished officer, understood thoroughly the details of his profession, was governed by a high sense of honor, frank, generous and upright. A gentleman of fine talents, and varied information, agreeable in society, and had many warm friends among the leading men of the nation. He was ardent in his family attachments, constant and devoted in his friendships, an exemplary member of the Episcopal church, of spotless reputation, esteemed and respected by all who knew him." L. C. D.

Gentlemen:—It would give me pleasure to comply with your request on the subject of the recent Indian hostilities, were I not perfectly sensible of my incapacity to interest you and your readers. As it is, flattered by your solicitation, and acknowledging the obligation to contribute my mite to your valuable work, authentically, I undertake the task.

"To begin then, with the beginning"—The Sauks and Foxes forming one nation of Indians, occupying until 1831, more or less of the country on both banks of the Mississippi for about one hundred and fifty miles above and below Rock Island, have always manifested as a people, hostile feelings toward the people of the United States. During the war with Great Britain, they were active allies of the English; repeatedly and—as they boast—always successfully engaged against us. Several detachments of our army and militia, one under command of Col. Z. Taylor, now of the First Infantry, were previous to 1815, defeated by this warlike people. Since the latter date, the hostile feeling has been openly shown only by a portion of the combined nation called the "British Band," of which a chief called Muckuttaymickekawkaik, the celebrated Black Hawk, was the

head. This band occupied the territory on the east bank of the Mississippi, principally along the Rock River, and ordinarily numbered about four hundred warriors.

By treaty, duly signed and ratified, the Sauks and Foxes, previous to 1831, conveyed this portion of their country east of the Mississippi to the United States, and our settlers advanced to the shores of Rock River, the Indians so far acknowledging the treaty as to cross the Mississippi, where the majority of them, if not all, took up their residence for a time.

In the spring of 1831, Maj. Gen. Gaines, commanding the Western Department, learned by express that the Indians, in great numbers, had recrossed the river, commenced a system of aggressions on the whites, and by threats, and in some instances of violence, had driven off many families, and bade fair to break up the settlements along the frontier of Illinois. The general promptly moved with such troops as he could find disposable—the Sixth, and a small portion of the Third Infantry—to the scene of difficulty. Here he found the tone of the Indians so high, and their deportment so insufferably insolent, that apprehending the necessity of an immediate resort to blows, he called on the governor of Illinois for an auxiliary force of mounted militia, and made preparations to enforce the demand he had already made of the Indians, to evacuate the ceded territory. After much delay and unusual display of reckless audacity on the part of the Indians,[1] they finally crossed again to the west side of the river, and made and executed a treaty solemnly pledging themselves never to land again on the east bank of the Mississippi without the consent of the President of the United States, and the Governor of Illinois.

Within four months after signing this treaty, a numerous war party of this very band ascended the Mississippi, landed on the east bank, and within the limits of the American vil-

[1] The Indians came openly armed into council with the general—a proceeding, it is believed, without precedent among them. They used in speech the most violent and threatening language and gestures. Had not the general felt compassion for their infatuation, he would probably have chastised them on the spot.

lage of Prairie du Chien, attacked a body of Menomonees—a nation distinguished for their unalterable friendship for the United States—and murdered, it is believed, twenty-eight persons. It was for the purpose of demanding and obtaining the leaders of this outrage on our flag, that Brig.-Gen. Atkinson was ordered with his regiment, the Sixth, to ascend the Mississippi in the spring of 1832, and the circumstances have shown that the secretary of war,[1] with the acuteness of judgment for which he is distinguished, aided by a thorough knowledge of the Indian character, clearly foresaw the result to which the disposition of the Indians would lead, yet very few others anticipated any occurrences more bloody than those of the preceding year.

On the 8th of April, 1832, the force under Gen. Atkinson, six companies of the Sixth Regiment, numbering about two hundred and eighty in the aggregate, embarked at Jefferson Barracks, and proceeded up the Mississippi. At the Des Moines rapids two hundred miles above, it was first learned by the detachment that the Indians meditated not only resistance to the demand for the surrender of the murderers, but the seizure and holding the territory—the debatable land—already twice or thrice ceded by them. Accounts here, made the number of warriors between six and eight hundred, who had ascended the Mississippi toward Rock Island. Gen. Atkinson arrived at Rock Island about the 12th of April; and there ascertained that on that day or the day before, the Indians had entered the mouth of the Rock River, and were ascending it.

The general here received correct and undoubted information of their numbers and condition. Different traders and others had carefully counted them, and reported the number of efficient warriors to be about six hundred and fifty, consisting of Black Hawk's "British Band," the friends of the war party who had committed the murders at Prairie du Chien, and about one hundred and twenty Kickapoos; they were subsequently joined on the Rock River by the Prophet's band. About four hundred and fifty of this force were

[1] Hon. Lewis Cass.

mounted, and it is but justice to say they were very efficient cavalry on hardy and generally well-trained horses—they never came into contact with our militia, both mounted, that the Indians did not come off victors, whatever might be their inferiority in numbers.

Under their intention of holding the country, they had brought with them their families and movables of every description.

Gen. Atkinson immediately summoned such of the chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes as had not participated in the movement, at the head of whom was Pashepawko, Wapello and Keokuk; demanded of them such of the murderers as were in their power, and warned them of the consequences which would result on their joining or aiding the invading band. The murderers (three, being all within the control of these chiefs) were promptly surrendered, and the general was assured of the fidelity of the chiefs to the government of the United States. The conference was concluded by an order from the general for the friendly Indians to return to their home, west of the Mississippi, and remain there.

Two messengers, a friendly Sauk chief, the son of Tayemah, and a half-breed whose father was a Frenchman and mother a Sauk woman, were dispatched to the Black Hawk by Gen. Atkinson, not only officially ordering him and his people, in the name of the president, to return, but individually advising him of the consequences of his persisting in his present enterprise. The demand for the surrender of the murderers was also made. Up to this time, it appeared to have been the general belief of the officers of the army, as it certainly was with the writer of this narrative, that the Indians—almost always "more sinned against than sinning"—would under the forbearing, dignified and determined course pursued by the general, be brought to a sense of their conduct and situation, and induced to comply with the demands of the government. But we were soon undeceived; the messengers returned greatly alarmed, after having been abused and insulted, and compelled to escape at the risk of their lives. They brought from the Indians the most insolent and bullying replies to the general's message,

generally, in effect, ridiculing his demands, and challenging the Americans to come against them.

About this time Henry Gratiot, Esq., the sub-agent for the Winnebagoes of the mining country, obeying the impulse of his duty, intrepidly proceeded to Black Hawk's camp, near the Prophet's village, for the purpose of holding a council with the chiefs, to ascertain their object, and to warn them to return. The Indians not only refused to hear him, but tore down his flag, raised the British flag, and took Mr. Gratiot prisoner. There is little doubt that his fate would have been sealed but for the interposition of the Winnebagoes, who purchased him of the Sauks, and restored him to liberty. We also learned that the Sauks and Foxes had been instigated to their present course by Wawbekashick, the Prophet, a half Winnebago and half Sauk, and possessing much influence with both nations from his assumption of the sacred character, from his talents, his inveterate hostility to the Americans, and his cold-blooded cruelty.

Gen. Atkinson, an officer possessing all the requisites for command, military skill, undaunted courage and perseverance, together with a knowledge of the Indian character, now commenced vigorous preparations for a campaign. He ordered such troops as could with safety be called from the posts of Prairie du Chien and Fort Leavenworth, to reinforce him; and was, in consequence, joined at Rock Island by four companies of the First Infantry, and subsequently at Dixon's Ferry, by two more companies of the Sixth Regiment from Fort Leavenworth. He took measures for collecting provisions and stores and means for their transportation, a work of exceeding difficulty, under all circumstances—and lastly he notified the governor of Illinois, Reynolds, that the Indians had ascended Rock River in a hostile atitude. The general also took measures to secure the neutrality of the surrounding Indian nations; or, should he deem it proper, their assistance. These preparations detained the troops at Rock Island about three weeks, during much of which period the weather was unusually cold and

rainy, and our tents quite unfit for service, and useless as a shelter.

About the 9th day of May provisions and boats having been collected, a force of nearly eighteen hundred militia arrived, fifteen hundred of whom were mounted, who had been ordered by Gov. Reynolds to report themselves to, and receive orders from the commanding officer of the regular troops. Our force moved up Rock River—the regular troops were then under the immediate command of Col. Taylor, First Infantry, and the mounted militia, under Brig.-Gen. Whiteside. Gov. Reynolds also accompanied his force in person. The mounted men were ordered to proceed to the Prophet's village, about thirty or forty miles by land, and sixty or seventy by water; while the regular force was charged with the severe and unpleasant duty of dragging up the river our provisions and stores in boats, one keel of ninety tons, and one of thirty, and five or six Mackinaw boats. It is unnecessary to describe this duty better than to say, that the weather was cold, and that for many days the troops, so employed, had not a dry thread on them, compelled to wade against a rapid stream, dragging or lifting the boats along from daybreak until night. On our arrival at the Prophet's village, it was found that the mounted militia had advanced to Dixon's Ferry. About thirty miles below the last named point, an express informed our command of the defeat of a battalion of the militia under Maj. Stillman, and the troops were hastened forward with all possible dispatch. At Dixon's Ferry, about one hundred and twenty miles from the mouth of Rock River, we learned the particulars of his defeat.

Maj. Stillman, commanding a volunteer battalion of Illinois militia, at his own solicitation, had been dispatched by Gov. Reynolds to endeavor to ascertain the position of the Indians. Deceived by some individuals who assured him that they had reconnoitered the country for forty-five miles above Whiteside's camp, and that there were no Indians within that distance, Stillman encamped an hour before sunset, twenty-five miles from Dixon's, in a well-chosen position, on a stream since called Stillman's Run.

Very soon after pitching tents, and after unsaddling, some Indians were discovered on the open prairie, a mile or two distant. The camp entirely filled a small open wood, which was on every side surrounded by open and clear prairie slightly undulating. The strongest fortress could hardly have been more effectively defended than the camp in question, where a hundred men ought to have repulsed ten times their number of an attacking force. On the discovery of the Indians, only two or three in number, the militia sallied out, as all agree, in great confusion, some with saddles and some without, and pursued and captured these Indians, when some one called out that three or four others were in sight; on which another pursuit occurred in still greater disorder. The last Indians were overtaken, and, it is said, two of them killed unresistingly and without provocation. Very soon others were discovered advancing. Their numbers appeared, no doubt, much greater than they really were in the dusk of the evening, and a panic seized the whites, *Sauve qui peut* was the word—or rendered into backwood's English, "the devil take the hindmost," and the whole corps fled without firing a well-directed shot. They passed on the run directly through their camp, plunged into the creek, and did not halt until they had arrived at Dixon's Ferry, where they came straggling in for twenty hours. Twelve of the whites and four of the Indians, including those wantonly slain, were killed. It is asserted by the Indians, that the rout was caused by less than one hundred Indians, and the pursuit continued through the night by less than thirty. There were, doubtless, many gallant fellows in Stillman's corps, and it is difficult to account for this, as well as other similar affairs between the whites and Indians, save by attributing it to a want of discipline, and of material confidence in themselves.

It may be well to add the fact, that Stillman's corps had never been for an instant under Gen. Atkinson's orders, they having joined Gov. Reynolds at Dixon's, by a march through the country.

The army immediately advanced up Rock River to Stillman's Run, having left the defeated corps to guard the sick,

wounded and provisions at the depot at Dixon's. At Stillman's Run, Gen. Atkinson was overtaken by an express with intelligence that the corps left to guard the depot had determined to abandon their charge and return home. He also ascertained that the enemy had moved rapidly up Sycamore Creek,[1] towards its head. The mounted force now about two thousand, was dispatched in pursuit, and the regulars ordered to occupy the depot at Dixon's. Whiteside with his command moved up Sycamore Creek for two or three days, pursuing the enemy, never, however, being able to get sight of them.

The first intelligence received of the run-away troops by Gen. Atkinson, was that they had proceeded across the country to the Illinois River, and disbanded themselves or had been discharged. This was said to have been brought about from some cause connected with the local politics of the State.

The general with his staff immediately proceeded across the country to the Illinois River, and by much exertion succeeded in inducing a few companies of mounted men to volunteer to assist in protecting the settlements.

Within a few hours after the general's departure, intelligence arrived at Dixon's by express, that the enemy had made attacks at different points, eighty or ninety miles apart, and committed butcheries, with all the accustomed horrors of Indian warfare. The report of a few mounted men of the disbanded militia, who arrived, induced the serious apprehension that the general had been cut off in his journey across the country. Fortunately our fears proved without foundation. Among the sufferers, the fate of no one created more sympathy than that of Felix St. Vrain, Indian agent for the Foxes and Sauks, who had accompanied the army to Dixon's Ferry, where he had obtained leave to return, and secure his family at Rock Island. On his way to Galena, with seven men, they were attacked by a large party of Indians under command of the Prophet, and Mr. St. Vrain and three others most barbarously murdered, the others making their escape.

[1] The south branch of Kishwaukee.

By exertions almost incredible, Gen. Atkinson succeeded in less than three weeks in calling out a new militia mounted force, for it was already found that the war could not be successfully prosecuted against a well-mounted enemy by infantry alone, and in organizing it anew, and in procuring provisions for a new movement.

In the meantime, however, two companies of regular troops and a company of militia had been dispatched to Kellogg's Grove, for the purpose of occupying the country between Rock and Fevre rivers, and dispersing a party of the enemy known to be lurking therein. While there, the militia in returning to the camp were attacked by a party of Indians in ambush, and driven off, with a loss of three of their number killed. The Indians lost four. After remaining at Kellogg's Grove ten days, this party were ordered to return, and their places were supplied by a battalion of militia two hundred and fifty strong, commanded by Major John Dement who the day after their arrival at the position, were attacked and defeated by one hundred and thirty Indians, who drove them into their stockade, and besieged them until relieved by Gen. Posey with the residue of the brigade, when the Indians leisurely withdrew.

About this time also, Col. Dodge, now colonel of the U. S. Dragoons, with a party of twenty-eight mounted men, learned that several murders had been committed in the neighborhood of Fort Hamilton, and pursued the murderers. Dodge and his party overtook the enemy, who they found to be a party of fifteen in number, and after a sharp conflict, killed every one of them, with the loss of three whites killed.

On the 28th of June, the army again advanced on the enemy. Our force consisted of upwards of four hundred regular infantry, and Henry's brigade of one thousand mounted militia. Brig.-Gen. Brady, U. S. A., who had in the meantime joined the army, and by advice of Gen. Atkinson, assumed the immediate command of the division of regulars and militia, was left to guard the depot at Dixon's Ferry, and Posey's and Alexander's brigades detached and disposed so as to protect the settlements.

On the 3rd of July, we found ourselves in the neighborhood of the enemy, who, however, occupied an inaccessible position in a swamp a few miles from us. This was Winnebago swamp, in Ogle County, Ill. They had retired before us, and, in several instances, we found in their camps scalps and heads previously taken, and left in triumph. They also always left in their camps a sort of guide-post, with a wisp of hay done up and fixed so as to indicate their destination. This, however, was mere bravado, as they avoided a conflict, though it was eagerly sought for by our army. The force of the enemy at this time could not have been far from one thousand efficient warriors, nearly all mounted. Our marching had become exceedingly disagreeable and difficult, wading through swamps and morasses, our provisions and baggage on pack-horses, frequently damaged, and the former of course falling short by the horses sinking in the swamps.

Every exertion was made to procure guides, but in vain. Such Winnebagoes or Pottawatomies as joined us or could be taken, were either ignorant or treacherous. On the 6th of July, we reached a deep and muddy stream called most inaptly White Water, beyond which we were informed by the Winnebagoes we should find the enemy. With much difficulty we forded or swam this stream, or rather the first of three branches, and after a perplexing march of twelve or fifteen miles we arrived where the Indian guides assured the General, with one voice, that farther advance was impossible, having arrived, as they said, and as it appeared, at a wilderness of that description of morass called by the French *terre tremblante*. We had, it appeared, no recourse but to retrace our weary march for the purpose of arriving at and crossing Rock River, to reach the enemy by moving up the other bank. At the mouth of the White Water, the mounted force under Gen. Henry and Col. Dodge was dispatched with the pack-horses to Fort Winnebago for provisions.

Under these vexations and disappointments, we had the satisfaction of knowing that our enemy was completely besieged—cut off from all their resources. Gen. Atkinson knew that they must soon be driven by famine to give us

battle, or to retreat from their present position, where he had little doubt of overtaking them. He, therefore, took such measures as to prevent their escape. To enable a company to guard our provisions and sick, when we should again advance, a stockade was erected, which was called Fort Koshkonong.[1]

Here we learned by dispatches from Maj.-Gen. Scott to our commander, of the arrival of that officer with his troops at Chicago, and that the Asiatic cholera was raging among them. This was the first intimation any individual of our command had received of the existence of this disease on this continent. We also received other disagreeable and mortifying intelligence through the public prints, and from other sources—the censure conveyed in insinuations and innuendoes by certain prints; the information from private letters, and perhaps the tone of official dispatches, all gave us too clearly to understand, that thus far for our toil, exposure, and exertions, we had received nothing but censure—how unjustly, every individual of the army knew and felt.

On the arrival of the provisions, a new guide—an Indian chief[2]—offered to conduct the army to the enemy's camp; his services were gladly accepted, and the army once more advanced through swamps in the direction of the foe. When again within a few hours march of them, the night set in with the most tremendous storm of rain, wind, thunder and lightning that I ever witnessed. Before morning an officer overtook us with information from Gen. Henry, that the enemy had retreated, crossing Rock River, and that the mounted corps of Henry and Dodge having fallen on the fresh trail of the retreating Indian army, had taken the trail in pursuit, after dispatching the express to Gen. Atkinson. Instantly we commenced our retrograde movement again,

[1] This fort was located in the eastern outskirts of the present village of Fort Atkinson, and was first known as Fort Koshkonong, and afterwards as Fort Atkinson. It was garrisoned by Capt. Gideon Lowe, of the regulars, with thirty or forty men, till the conclusion of the war, when it was abandoned, and Lowe marched his men to Fort Winnebago. L. C. D.

[2] White Crow. L. C. D.

and that evening arrived at Fort Koshkonong; and the next day passed around Lake Koshkonong, and forded Rock River below the lake.

Our marches were forced and severe. One day we marched it is believed, nearly twenty miles, a very hot one, without water. Before the arrival of the army at the Wisconsin, it was met by an express with information that Henry and Dodge had come up with, and attacked the rear of the enemy near the river, and defeated them.

Rafts were forthwith constructed at the Wisconsin, and the army crossed at a small village called Helena, on the 27th of July; and within two hours afterwards we struck the trail of the enemy. Their trail gave evidence that their numbers must be considerable. Their order of march was in three parallel columns. Over the dry prairie, the route of each column was worn from two to six inches in the earth; where the ground was marshy, their trail appeared like ordinary traveled roads, wanting only the tracks of the wheels.

From this time until we reached the Mississippi River, we continued without deviation to follow the trail of the enemy, having no other guide, and led—doubtless with a view of baffling the army—over such a country as, I venture to say, has seldom been marched over—at one moment ascending hills, which appeared almost perpendicular, through the thickest forests; then plunging through morasses; fording to our necks creeks and rivers; passing defiles, where one hundred resolute men might have defeated ten thousand, whatever might be their courage or capacity; next clambering up and down mountains perfectly bald, without so much as a bush to sustain a man. It was in this march that our infantry regained their confidence in their own powers—lacking the power of rapid locomotion to make a dash against an enemy—which had been somewhat impaired early in the campaign. They now far out-marched the horsemen, nearly all of whose horses were broken down.

The Indians were under the impression that it was impossible for us to follow them; and to that error we probably owe our ultimate good fortune in overtaking them, or, at

least, in bringing them into action on grounds of equality. We, each day, made two of their day's marches, passing one or two of their camps. We frequently passed their dead, who, exhausted by wounds or fatigue, had expired and fallen from their horses.

On the 1st of August, we passed the bodies of eleven, and a little before sunset, learned from a prisoner, that the enemy were but a few miles in advance of us. Up to this time, not a man of the army knew where we were, save that we were north of the Wisconsin, and on the enemy's track. We marched until after dark, hastily encamped, slept two or three hours, when the *reveille* beat, and we were again on the march before daybreak.

On the 2nd of August, at a little after sunrise, we discovered the curtain of mist hanging over the Mississippi, and the scouts in advance, a detachment of Dodge's corps, announced the vicinity of the enemy. We were halted for an instant, our knapsacks and baggage thrown off and our pack-horses left. We then advanced rapidly into the timbered land, and the occasional shots in advance confirmed the reports of the scouts. This firing was from a select rear guard of the enemy, about seventy in number.

Our order of battle was promptly arranged under the personal supervision of Gen. Atkinson, the center composed of the regular troops, about three hundred and eighty in number, and Dodge's corps, perhaps about one hundred and fifty. The right, of the remains of Posey's and Alexander's militia brigades, probably in all two hundred and fifty men; the left, of Henry's brigade, in numbers not far from four hundred men—which brigade was, throughout the campaign, a most excellent body of militia, and well commanded. The army advanced by heads of companies over two or three miles. At length, after descending a bluff, almost perpendicular, we entered a bottom thickly and heavily wooded, with much underbrush and fallen timber, and overgrown with rank weeds and grass, plunged through a bayou of stagnant water, the men as usual holding up their guns and cartridge boxes, and in a few minutes heard the yells of the enemy, closed with them, and the action commenced.

As I have already been more prolix than I intended, I refer the reader to the official account of the battle. Suffice it to say, that quarters were in no instance asked or granted. The official reports give the number of killed of the enemy at one hundred and fifty, though doubtless many more were killed in the river and elsewhere, whose bodies were never seen afterwards. Our loss was but twenty-seven. This disparity was doubtless owing to the rapid charge made by our troops, on the enemy, giving them time to deliver but one confused fire. About one hundred and fifty horses were taken or killed. The Black Hawk, the Prophet, and some other chiefs escaped from the action; but were subsequently brought in by the Winnebagoes, and the friendly Sauks, and delivered to the commanding general. After the action, a body of one hundred Sioux warriors presented themselves, and asked leave to pursue on the trail of such of the enemy as had escaped. This was granted, and the Sioux, after two days' pursuit, overtook and killed fifty or sixty, mostly, it is feared, women and children.

The afternoon previous to the action, the steamboat Warrior, on her return from the Sioux villages above, with some twenty or thirty U. S soldiers, discovered the Indian army on the bank of the Mississippi, engaged in constructing rafts and other means of crossing the river, exactly where Gen. Atkinson subsequently attacked them.

The enemy for some time endeavored to decoy the steamboat to the shore, assuring those on board that they were Winnebagoes, a friendly tribe. A sharp skirmish was finally the result, in which several of the Indians—different reports say from seven to twenty-three in number—were killed, and one soldier wounded. The boat then repaired to Prairie du Chien, and arrived again opportunely at the close of the action the following day.

The troops moved down the river to Prairie du Chien, where they were met by Maj.-Gen. Scott, who, with his staff, had left the brigade at Chicago, prostrated by an enemy far more terrible than the savages—the cholera; and was hastening to take part in the campaign. The wounded were left at this place, and the army descended to Rock Island,

where we arrived in fine health and spirits on the 9th of August. Indeed, it is astonishing how perfectly healthy the troops had been during much and great exposure to the ordinary causes of sickness. Up to this time not a death from disease had occurred during the campaign among the regular troops. They had borne, without the slightest murmur, their fatigues and privations, and scarcely an occasion for the most trifling punishment had been given, from the time the army took the field. It has never been the fortune of the writer, during a service of twenty years, to witness for a length of time the conduct of any command so perfectly exemplary.

We were soon doomed to experience a sad reverse. About the 20th of August, the troops from Chicago arrived under the command of Col. Eustis, and were encamped about four miles from the command of Gen. Atkinson. Poor fellows! we listened with sincere condolence to the tale of their wretched sufferings from disease; few of us imagining that we should call on them, so soon, to reciprocate our sympathy.

About the 26th of August, a case of cholera exhibited itself; this was followed by several others, and the ravages of this appalling disease then became truly dreadful. The troops were camped in wretched tents in close order of encampment, and for several days of continued cold rain the pestilence raged. Every man could hear the groans and screams of every other individual as often as a case occurred, which added greatly to the horrors of the scene. The brave men who had encountered dangers and hardships in every shape, now met an enemy which made the stoutest heart quail. During a very few days four officers and upwards of fifty rank and file, out of about three hundred infantry, became its victims. The Rangers also encamped near them, suffered severely. It is but rendering justice to Maj.-Gen. Scott to say, that his conduct at Rock Island during this period of horrors was worthy the hero of Chippewa, Niagara, and Fort George—by his example, exciting confidence and courage, fearlessly exposing himself to disease and death in its most terrible form, in his attentions alike to the officer and private soldier; while he enforced with

the most vigilant care the strictest sanitary regulations. At length the troops were moved across the Mississippi, not out of sight of their late camp, and the pestilence ceased.

The Indians sued for peace, a treaty was made at Rock Island by which the whole country east of the Mississippi called the "mining district," and a large tract on the west bank, probably in the whole about 8,000,000 acres, was ceded to the United States; and all the surviving chiefs of any note who had been in arms against us, were to remain as hostages during the pleasure of the president.

And thus ended the Sauk war. About the 28th of September the troops were ordered to their respective stations.

The fear of being insufferably prolix, has induced the writer to confine himself to a general account of the campaign, leaving minutiæ to some future opportunity.

NOTE.—The editor of the Rockford *Journal* appended to his publication of Capt. Smith's narrative, the following outline of the route pursued by Gen. Atkinson's troops: The line of march of the army was from Rock Island to Prophet's Town, in Whiteside County, thence to Dixon; thence north on the east side of Rock River, passing a few miles east of Oregon, Ogle County; crossing Stillman's Creek in the towns of Marion and Scott, Ogle County, where Stillman's battalion was defeated; crossing the Kishwaukee River in the town of New Milford, some two or three miles from its mouth, and passing about one mile east from the present city of Rockford. Thence north, through the present towns of Harlem and Roscoe in Winnebago County, Illinois. The Wisconsin line was crossed about one mile east of the city of Beloit. The east bank of Rock River was followed until they came to Lake Koshkonong, where the river was crossed, and the army took a westerly course, passing through Dane and Iowa counties, Wisconsin, to the Wisconsin River, at Helena, where they crossed the river. From this point the direction was a northwest course, passing through Sauk and Richland counties, the northeast corner of Crawford County, some twenty to twenty-five miles from Prairie du Chien, and through Vernon County, to where the Indians were overtaken at the Bad Axe River, and the final battle was fought.

This march was through an entire new country. No white man had ever passed through it before. The distance marched was about three hundred miles, one hundred and forty of which being in Illinois, and the remainder in Wisconsin. The entire time occupied in making the distance, including the stoppages and delays, from the time the army left Rock Island, May 9th, until the defeat of Black Hawk, Aug. 2d, was eighty-five days.

Reminiscences of the Black Hawk War

By Gen. Robert Anderson

The Galena *Gazette,* of June 21, 1870, introduces Gen. Anderson's Black Hawk War reminiscences, with the following remarks:

Hon. E. B. Washburne, our minister to France, has placed us under great obligations in sending to us, for publication in the *Gazette*, a very interesting letter in regard to the Black Hawk War, addressed to him by Gen. Robert Anderson, now in France, whose heroic defense of Fort Sumter has made him so well known to the country. These reminiscences of Gen. Anderson will be read with a great deal of interest. Though this war assumed no large proportions, yet there were on its theater of action, of which Galena may be considered the center, a greater number of men who have become distinguished in the history of our country than ever figured on a like theater in the United States. Of this number we mention Col. Zachary Taylor, a colonel in the regular army, and Abraham Lincoln, a private in a cavalry company (horse, arms and equipments valued at one hundred and sixty dollars), both of whom became presidents of the United States; Gen. Scott, candidate for president, and afterward lieutenant-general, who for a time had his headquarters in this town; Jefferson Davis, afterward secretary of war, United States senator from Mississippi, and subsequently president of the Southern Confederacy; Henry Dodge, governor of the Territory of Wisconsin, and afterward United States senator; Hon. Wm. L. D. Ewing serving for a short time as United States senator from Illinois; Hon. Sidney Breese, for six years one of our senators in Congress, and at present the honored chief justice of the State; Gen. Jacob Fry, who was, we believe, one of the trustees of the canal, and afterward canal commissioner; Col. William S.

Hamilton, then of "Hamilton's Diggings," Wisconsin, now Wiota, and son of Alexander Hamilton; and Col. James Collins, of White Oak Springs, Wisconsin, both of the latter afterward prominent as Whig politicians in the Territory of Wisconsin, and both died in California.

Of some of the military men other than those mentioned, who became distinguished, we may name Gen. Robert Anderson, Gen. Bennet Riley, Col. Wm. M. Graham, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and Col. Nathan Boone. There are many others, whose names are not mentioned by Gen. Anderson, and which do not now occur to us. The letter of the general is a valuable contribution to our history in the North-West, and for which he will have the thanks of hosts of people interested in the subject.

TOURS, FRANCE, May 10, 1870.

To E. B. Washburne, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, Paris, France:

My Dear Sir:—After our recent conversation about the Black Hawk War, you asked me to put my recollections of some of the incidents connected therewith in writing, and you were kind enough to suggest that my reminiscences would be of much interest to many of the old settlers of your adopted State. I should state, however, that my memory has been a good deal impaired, and that, therefore, many allowances must be made.

When the Indian disturbances under Black Hawk broke out in the spring of 1832, I was on duty at the St. Louis arsenal, which was then under the command of Lieut. Richard Bland Lee. I may here say, that I had graduated at the West Point Military Academy in 1822. When the hostilities commenced, Gen. Atkinson was in command at Jefferson Barracks, and he was ordered to move his troops to the threatened frontier. He proceeded at once to Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island. Having obtained the consent of my commanding officer, I volunteered to join his expedition, which I did at Rock Island. Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, soon arrived, and took up his quarters with Gen.

Atkinson, and he remained with us nearly all the time till the close of the war. After a considerable augmentation of the troops at Rock Island, we moved our forces up Rock River in keel-boats, as far as Dixon's Ferry, so called after Capt. John Dixon, the first settler there. We made that place the general rendezvous of all the troops coming in. The cavalry had a camp on the south side of the river, and the infantry were in an entrenched camp on the north side.

The officers in command of the Illinois troops were Gen. Henry and Gen. Posey, and Gen. Alexander; but Gen. Atkinson was in command of the expedition. The force remained at Dixon's Ferry some two or three months, drilling and making small expeditions. We had a force of some fifteen hundred cavalry, the finest troops I ever saw. While at Dixon's Ferry, we were joined by a body of friendly Indians, headed by the Chief Chebanse (I may not spell the name correctly). It was during this time that I went on an expedition to Ottawa with Gen. Atkinson. It was than a small trading-post, with only a few houses. We found one company of troops there whose term of service had expired. I mustered it out of service; but most of the men immediately re-enlisted, and I had the satisfaction of mustering them in again.

Henry Dodge, afterwards so well known and so much distinguished as colonel of a regiment of Rangers, authorized to be raised by Congress, was with us, and also Boone and Ford, captains in the same regiment. Nathan Boone was a son of the celebrated Daniel Boone. I also mustered Abraham Lincoln twice into the service, and once out. He was a member of two of the independent companies which were not brigaded. The first time I mustered him into the service was at the mouth of Fox River, May 29, 1832, in Capt. Elijah Iles' company. The lieutenants in the company were J. M. Harrison and H. B. Roberts. The value of his arms was forty dollars, and his horse and equipments one hundred and twenty dollars. I mustered him out of the service at the "Rapids of the Illinois," June 16, 1832, and in four days afterward, at the same place, I mustered him into service

again in Capt. Jacob M. Early's company. The lieutenants in this last company were G. W. Glasscock and B. D. Rush. Of course I had no recollection of Mr. Lincoln, but when president he reminded me of the fact.

I might mention that previous to this time, Gov. Reynolds gave me a commission of inspector-general in the Illinois volunteer service, with the rank of colonel. I now have in my possession at home that commission as an officer in the service of that State, now become so great and powerful. I recollect the fight at "Stillman's Run," some twenty miles above Dixon's Ferry, in which Col. Strode, of one of the Illinois regiments, figured quite conspicuously. Among the officers who were with us at Dixon's Ferry, there were several who afterward became distinguished. There was Captain, afterward Gen. Riley, distinguished in Mexico and California; Lieut. Albert Sidney Johnston, aide and assistant adjutant-general on Gen. Atkinson's staff, afterwards so well known as a general in the rebel service, and who was killed at Shiloh. He was a cool, clear-headed man, and an excellent officer. Indeed, I have always considered him the ablest officer the rebels ever had in their service. Capt. William S. Harney (now General Harney), of the First Infantry, was also with us, a bold, dashing officer, and indefatigable in duty. So was also Capt. William M. Graham, of the regular army, afterward lieutenant-colonel, and killed at the battle of Molino del Rey. The names of the members of Gen. Atkinson's staff, as nearly as I can now recall them, were:

Lieut. A. S. Johnston, A. D. C., assistant adjutant-general, Lieut. M. L. Clark (son of General William Clark, governor of Missouri, who went with Lewis to explore the Rocky Mountains), A. D. C. Lieut. Robert Anderson, assistant inspector-general. Lieut. N. J. Eaton, chief commissary department. Col. Enoch March, quartermaster-general.

The last named gentleman was, I think, the quartermaster of the State of Illinois, and an extraordinary man, fertile in resources, prompt in deciding as well as acting. He was of inestimable service during the campaign.

Gov. Reynolds was accompanied, if my memory serves me, by the adjutant-general of his State, Gen. Turney. In each brigade there was a spy battalion. Capt. Early was, in addition to those named to you, captain of one of those companies.

William S. Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton, joined us at Dixon's Ferry, with a small party of friendly Indians. He was of much use to us from his knowledge of the Indian character and of the country. The first movement of our troops was up Rock River, and with a view of finding the Indians and giving battle. My duty was to be in the advance and select camping grounds for the troops. I was a great deal with the "spy battalion," commanded by Maj. W. L. D. Ewing, of Vandalia, a brave and efficient officer. Jacob Fry was colonel of one of the regiments in Henry's brigade, an excellent officer and an honest man. Sidney Breese, so much distinguished in your State, one of the lieutenant-colonels. The country through which we passed (it was in July) was beautiful beyond description, surpassing anything I have ever seen in our own country, in Mexico, or in Europe.

The Indians constantly retreated as we advanced. Finally they struck west to cross the Mississippi River. We overtook them at "Bad Axe," on the bank of the river, on the 2nd of August, 1832, just as they were making arrangements to cross, and there was fought the battle of Bad Axe, which ended in the complete rout of the Indians. It was a fight in the ravines, on the bottom lands, and among logs, and trees, and underbrush. Black Hawk escaped, but was captured some time afterward, and was taken to Fort Crawford and surrendered to Col. Zachary Taylor, who was then in command of that post. The battle of Bad Axe having virtually ended the war, the troops were moved back to Dixon's Ferry and Rock Island, at which places I mustered them out of the service. Gen. Scott was sent out to supersede Gen. Atkinson and take command of the expedition but he did not reach the theater of operations before the close of the war. He got as far as Galena, and from there he went down to Fort Armstrong, and established his headquarters.

From Dixon's Ferry I was sent by Atkinson with dispatches for Gen. Scott at Rock Island, and to report to him for duty. He at once assigned me to duty, placing me in charge of the Indian prisoners. I have the record of the names of all these prisoners among my papers. I have also, among my papers in New York, all the original muster rolls of the Illinois troops, and I will take great pleasure in putting them at your disposal to be placed at your discretion among the archives of the State, or of some historical society in the State. This should be with the approbation of the war department.

Gen. Scott having received information from Col. Taylor of the capture of Black Hawk and a few of his chiefs, he detailed me with a guard to go to Fort Crawford for them, and to bring them to Fort Armstrong. We took for that purpose the steamer "Warrior," Capt. Throckmorton. We left Rock Island early in the day, and before night there were indications of the cholera among the soldiers on board the boat. There was no surgeon on board, and I did the best I could for them. When we arrived at the mouth of Fevre River, I had the boat tied up and took a skiff and went up to Galena in search of a doctor. I there found Doctor Addison Philleo, who had been with us in the campaign, and he cheerfully returned with me to the steamboat and took charge of my sick. We then continued our trip to Fort Crawford, where I delivered my orders to Col. Taylor. By that time I had the cholera myself, and was scarcely fit for duty. Col. Taylor, therefore, assigned to me for my assistance in returning with the Indians to Fort Armstrong, his adjutant, Lieut. Jefferson Davis. We took with us Black Hawk and his two sons, the Prophet, and some other chiefs. On reaching Fort Armstrong, the cholera was raging so violently in camp, that Gen. Scott ordered the steamer to go immediately to Jefferson Barracks. I there turned my prisoners over to Gen. Atkinson, who had resumed command of the post. I then resumed my original position at the St. Louis arsenal, the temporary command of which post devolved on me some months afterwards.

Such, my dear sir, are some of my recollections of the

"Black Hawk War," which created a great deal of excitement in the Northwest, and which was a great event in its day. It was my first service in the field, and I entered into it with all the zeal of a young officer who loved his profession, and desired faithfully to serve his country. I have retained many pleasant memories of the officers and soldiers with whom I was associated. There were never finer troops than the Illinois volunteer soldiers that we had with us. They were brave, intelligent and sober men, and always yielding a ready obedience to the commands of their officers. Many of them, both officers and privates, have since reached high positions in public life, and have reflected great credit not only upon the State but upon the Nation.

Third Illinois Brigade in the Black Hawk War[1]

In looking over some old papers and letters, I find the inclosed memorandum from Gen. Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter memory, which has a certain historical interest. I take it all the officers mentioned are dead, and their names are fast dying out of the memory of the present generation. Gen. Fry, after a long and honorable life, was perhaps the last to have died, and that quite recently. I knew him very well thirty or forty years ago, a gentleman of the old school. He was the father of Col. James B. Fry, so long on the staff of Gen. Hancock, and so well and honorably known during the Rebellion as provost marshal general. Of the others named in the memorandum, I personally knew Col. James Collins, who was for many years in early times at White Oak Springs, Wis., twelve miles east and north of Galena. He was quite a prominent Whig politician in Wisconsin Territory, and a member of the Territorial council from Iowa County. He died in California.

Maj. William L. D. Ewing I met frequently at Springfield sometime in the forties. By virtue of being president of the senate, he became the acting governor of the State for

[1] From Chicago *Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1881.

fifteen days in 1832. He was a genteel, well-appearing man, and of many amiable qualities. When Lieut. Gov. Adolphus Frederick Hubbard undertook to usurp the office of Governor in 1825, then held by Edward Coles, he appointed Ewing paymaster-general. George Forquer, then secretary of state, refused to issue the commission, and thereupon Ewing applied to the supreme court for a writ of mandamus to compel the secretary to issue the commission. The case was the most important one, politically, ever before the supreme court of Illinois, as it involved the question, who was governor of the State, Coles or Hubbard. The court, in an able opinion by Mr. Justice Lockwood, discussed the writ, holding that Hubbard had no right to the office of governor, and could not, therefore, issue any lawful commission.

I never knew, before I saw Gen. Anderson's memorandum, that Sidney Breese had been a lieutenant-colonel in the Black Hawk War. He had been so long on the bench that he lost the title of "Colonel" in that of "Judge."[1]

Capt. Andrew Bankson I did not know, but I know something of his history. He was an early settler in the Territory of Illinois, and served as a Ranger in the War of 1812. He was a senator from Washington County in the celebrated "convention legislature" in 1823–24, and though a Kentuckian, he voted against the resolution to submit the question of a convention to the people with a view of making Illinois a slave State. He removed from Illinois to Dubuque

[1] In Wakefield's *History of the Black Hawk War*, published in 1834—written by a participant in that contest—it is stated, under date of July 9th, 1832, and while in the region of Lake Koshkonong: "Gov. Reynolds and his aides left us; likewise Col. T. W. Smith, who had been promoted to the office of adjutant-general; and Col. A. P. Field, Gen. Henry's aide, and Maj. Breese, also left us, some on furlough, and some discharged, and returned home. These men at this time, did not believe there would be any fighting, or I think they would not have left the army."

In the second edition of Patterson's *Autobiography of Black Hawk*, it is stated that Maj. Breese and Col. Field reached Galena, July 12th; and that "they were firmly of the opinion that the Indians had taken to the swamps, and gotten entirely out of reach of the army, and that no further danger need be apprehended." L. C. D.

county, Iowa Territory, in 1835. He died in 1852, while on a visit to his daughter in Wisconsin.

Capt. Hiram Rountree became a prominent and influential man in the State, and lived, I believe, at Hillsboro, in Bond County.

Gen. Anderson's statement of his mustering Mr. Lincoln into and out of the service during the Black Hawk War, in the company of Capt. Elijah Iles, is interesting.

Yours truly,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

August 19, 1881.

Gen. Anderson's Memorandum

TOURS, FRANCE, June 20, 1870.

MR. WASHBURNE—*My Dear Sir:*—I have found a memorandum which enables me to give you a full list of the officers of the Third Brigade, Illinois Mounted Volunteers. They were:

Brig. Gen. James D. Henry, commanding.

Colonels—S. L. Mathews, Jacob Fry, Gabriel Jones, James Collins.

Lieutenant-Colonels—James Gilham, Jeremiah Smith, Sidney Breeze, Powell H. Sharp.

Majors—James Evans, Benjamin James, John D. Wood, William Miller, William L. D. Ewing, commanding spy battalion.

Captains—William Adair, James Arnett, David Baldridge, Andrew Bankson, Aaron Barrows, Josiah Briggs, George S. Bristow, Reuben Brown, James Burns, Walter Butler, Jesse Claywell, Jacob Freeman, William Selham, William Gordon, Osias Hale, Samuel Houstoun, James Kinkade, Allen F. Lindsay, Cyrus Matthews, Thomas Maffet, Bennet Nowlen, Gersham Patterson, Earl Pierce, Hiram Rountree, Alexander Smith, Thomas Stout, James Thomson, William L. Webb.

I find that our late president, Mr. Lincoln, was a member, during his term of service, of two of the independent companies which were not brigaded. I mustered him into ser-

vice at the mouth of Fox River of the Illinois, May 29, 1832, in Capt. Elijah Iles' company. The Lieutenants in this company were I. M. Harrison and H. B. Roberts. The value of his (Mr. Lincoln's) arms was $40; of his horse and equipments $120. I mustered him out of the service at the Rapids of the Illinois, June 16, and again into service, at the same place, June 20, in Capt. Jacob M. Early's company, whose Lieutenants were G. W. Glasscock and B. D. Rush. The value of Mr. Lincoln's arms was $15, his horse and equipments, $85.

My memoranda enables me also to give you the dates of my term of service in the Black Hawk War. It commenced May 9, 1832, and closed October 11th of the same year.

Robert Anderson, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A.

Incident of the Black Hawk War

By Charles Whittlesey

Among the recollections of the season I spent in Wisconsin in 1832, is the following incident of the Black Hawk War, which occurred on the banks of Rock River, after the so-called Stillman's defeat, or battle of the Kishwaukee or Sycamore Creek. I cannot now bring to mind the authority on which the statement is based, not being present, and therefore give it only as the remembrance of an old man.

Gen. Atkinson had not arrived in camp, and the command of all the troops, regular and volunteer, devolved upon Col. Zachary Taylor of the army. He was to move northward, across the river, in pursuit of Black Hawk and his followers. A portion of the volunteers held that they were called out only to defend the State of Illinois, and were not inclined to march. The column was formed with the volunteers in front. Before the order to move was issued, Col. Taylor rode up to the volunteer troops, and made them a brief speech.

He said that orders had been passed along from Washington and the president, to pursue the Indians. It might be that some of them would yet be president of the United States; and if so, they would expect their orders to be obeyed. At any rate, he should obey such orders, and if there were any who did not wish to cross the river, there stood the United States infantry behind them. Forward, march!

It may not be true that Capt. Abraham Lincoln, of the Illinois volunteers was present at that time; but as he served the whole campaign, he must have been. If so, that command included two men who became presidents of the United States—Taylor and Lincoln.

Cleveland, O., June, 1877.

The Battle of Peckatonica[1]

By Matthew G. Fitch

The morning of the 17th[2] of June, 1832, was one of peculiar loveliness, even in that fertile region known at that time as the Upper Mississippi Lead Mines, now as Wisconsin—although owing to our northern latitude, being 43 deg., vegetation does not spring up early; yet nature has amply atoned for this by filling the small groves that dot the prairie at every turn of the eye, with myriads of the sweetest songsters of the feathered tribe—while the prairie, covered with thousands of the most beautiful flowers, many of which rank among the botanical collections of Europe, but which here, growing wild, fill the air with an odor that brings fancy almost into a belief that these are the Elysian fields by ancient sages foretold.

But notwithstanding the beauties of nature, the soul of man was ill at ease. The Sauks, a powerful and warlike band of savages, who inhabit the west side of the Mississippi, had crossed the river and commenced a bloody and inhuman war on all those that chance threw in their way. Many were the instances, from the hoary head of age down to the babe that hung fondly to the mother's breast, that felt the deadly blow of these savage monsters; and, as if death could not atone for former existence, after removing the scalp, they would proceed to cut the inanimate corpses in a manner that baffles all description.

Three battles had already been fought—and as often had our troops been forced to retreat, with loss of men, horses, etc. But as yet, the horrors of war had not immediately visited the mining region—the Sauks having contented

[1] From the *Madison Express*, Jan. 9, 1841.

[2] This is clearly an error of memory. Col. Dodge's official report of the battle, dated the day of its occurrence, June 16th, 1832, is given in Smith's *Hist. of Wisconsin*, iii, pp. 226–27. L. C. D.

themselves by sending their scouts to the head of (Illinois) Fox River, and by placing parties in ambush along the road from Fort Clark to the lead mines. It is true, that many respectable citizens had been cut off by them, as they attempted to pass from Rock River to Galena; while a few others, from having a general knowledge of the country, and being mounted on superior horses, made good their retreat. I remember a case in point, but as I do not intend this as a history of that short but bloody war, I shall for the present pass it—but I may be induced to speak of it hereafter.

The only cause that I can assign for their not having made a charge on Galena, a town not only unprotected, but containing all the munitions of war, is this: Some five years previous, the Winnebagoes, who then owned a part of the mining country, showed a disposition to commence hostilities—in fact, the writer of this saw a keel-boat so completely perforated with rifle and musket balls, that it appeared an interposition of Providence that a man could remain on board without being killed. An officer, whom I shall shortly introduce, notwithstanding the small means of the country, hastily collected a body of mounted men; and without any other guide than the trails, or paths of the enemy, proceeded into the heart of their villages. This bold manœuvre caused them at once to sue for peace, and no doubt, struck terror to the surrounding tribes.

Two days previous to the above date an express arrived at Mineral Point, at 8 o'clock in the evening, bringing the unpleasant intelligence that six men had on that morning proceeded from Fort Hamilton—a small outpost twenty-five miles distant—some six or seven miles through the timber, to the forks of the East and West Peckatonica, for the purpose of ploughing and hoeing a piece of corn. While thus engaged a party of thirty or forty Indians advanced within thirty paces of them, before they were discovered. The devoted little party ran with all possible speed for their rifles, which had been left at a short distance; at the same moment the savages discharged a volley, and raising the war cry, advanced upon them, tomahawk in hand. One alone

escaped, Bennett Million—and he by swimming the river four times, and receiving several balls through his clothes—some of which grazed the skin, but did no further damage.

As a small party hastily assembled for the purpose of proceeding to the place, and burying those that were killed, I proposed accompanying them as far as the fort. This could be done with comparative safety. We found on our arrival, that a small detachment from the fort had consigned the mutilated remains of four to the earth, and that the fifth, Mr. Million, could not be found. As the horses as well as men needed repose—having been led by forced marches to head of Fox River, and many other places, frequently making seventy miles per day, without aid of roads or bridges—it was agreed to encamp on the ground for the ensuing night.

Col. Dodge, who had been unanimously elected to the command, and who at all times headed them in person, had permitted his citizen soldiers to retire to their respective homes—there, if possible, to enjoy a few days rest. But ere the commander had entered his own house, news was brought to him that a man had been killed by the savages at the Blue Mounds, twenty miles distant, and that a small body of men had collected, having procured a few Indian ponies from Prairie Du Chien. Mounting his horse, he at once proceeded to the place, and from thence determined to scour the country to Fort Hamilton, a distance of thirty-five miles, without any intervening road or settlement.

The night of the 16th [15th], he lay with the men ten miles from the fort. The next morning, leaving the men under the charge of an officer, with orders to follow as soon as they had prepared and eaten their frugal meal, he mounted his horse and proceeded unattended to the fort. While yet within three hundred yards of the men first above mentioned, he met with a man on horseback, who informed him of the massacre at the Peckatonica—and that he was going about three miles to procure blankets and other equipage for the purpose of joining the mounted men. They separated, and each rode his way. The colonel had not dismounted, when several guns were heard in rapid succession

immediately on the route that he had come; another minute brought the horse which the man whom he had met had been riding—his saddle covered with blood, and shot through the ear.

No sooner was this discovered, than a parade was ordered, and obeyed; and that, too, in a manner that would have done honor to a veteran troop. Placing himself at their head, Col. Dodge gave the word "forward!" when each man, putting spur to his horse, set off in a sweeping gallop. On the left of a long field, and the route the Indians were supposed to have taken, stood an almost impenetrable thicket, or undergrowth, from six or seven to twenty-five or thirty feet in height. This, in many places, was thickly interwoven with grape and other vines. Here, aided by the thick growth of weeds, a man could secrete himself at a distance of ten paces.

Marching up the side of this field a sufficient distance to ascertain the fact that they had not gone that route, a halt was ordered. The commander, placing himself in the rear ordered the troops to face to the right, thus placing the rear to the front; and he at their head. He now gave the word "march!" and plunged into the thicket. Eighty rods march brought them to the trail of the Indians who had retreated with all possible speed one mile farther, where they were discovered near a mile in advance. Only three or four of our men were at that time in sight, many of them having been entangled in the thicket for a considerable time. The Indians, no doubt thinking that these were all of the party, halted; it was then ascertained they were fifteen in number.

But their joy was momentary. The men having extricated themselves, came sweeping over the hill at full speed. Again the Sauks commenced a rapid retreat; but they were now in the prairie, and hotly pursued. It happened, however, in the course they took, lay a small stream, but of very rugged banks on each side. This detained the men for a considerable time. In crossing, several got their guns wet, and had to discharge them. Four men being in the rear, discovered that the enemy was filing to the left circling this branch; and by this means, got within eighty yards of them

before they were discovered. Shots were exchanged on both sides—none of which, however, took effect.

Dodge's main party now rapidly approaching, the enemy once more betook themselves to flight, plunged into the Peckatonica, and swam over. One fourth of a mile above the place where they crossed, stood a grove of about a hundred acres, in which were several small lakes or ponds. To this the Indians betook their way amid a shower of rifle balls; but our men were too far off to shoot with any certainty—still, it was supposed that some of the enemy were wounded. The banks of the river being very high, and the water deep, there was no possibility of crossing it, as a majority of the whites could not swim. They were, therefore, ordered to mount and proceed rapidly up the river half a mile, to a place where a deep ford would permit them to cross. At this point the colonel ordered two men to the right as spies, or rather as guards, that the enemy should not have it in their power to leave the grove undiscovered; he also placed two on the left for the same purpose.

The command now passed the ford, and after proceeding a short distance dismounted, leaving the horses in charge of every seventh man, and advanced on foot to meet the enemy in their close ambush. The guards left with the horses, and the two outposts, had reduced their numbers to sixteen, being one more than the Indians. Their trace was soon discovered, and followed with trailed arms, to the center of the grove. At that place, a small pond of three hundred feet in circumference, with high banks, served at once as an ambush and breastwork for the Sauks. They permitted our men to advance to within thirty yards, some of whom had passed their center, when they opened a well-directed fire, wounding three men mortally, one of whom received two balls. Their names were Black, Wells, and Morris.

The enemy was still invisible. A charge was, therefore, ordered, which brought the opposing parties within ten feet of each other. As our men were mostly armed with rifles, they halted, pouring in at the same time a well-directed volley of balls. This, although it silenced many, did not dis-

able them all; for a second round from the Sauks wounded Thomas Jenkins, since major, though not mortally. Poor wretches! their efforts were worse than useless; five minutes consigned them to their mother earth, one alone excepted, who, desperately wounded, had hid himself among the high weeds and brush. He lived to reach the Sauk camp, but died shortly after.

I cannot refrain from noting the following occurrence, although it was my intention to avoid using names, as I heard the commander say after the fight was over, that all had "acted well their part." In the heat of the engagement, a man by the name of Levin Leach had advanced so close to an Indian—probably a chief—that the Indian made a desperate thrust at him with a war spear. Leach instantly dropped his gun and seized the blade of the spear, something like two feet long, the Indian still holding to the other end. As the blade was rather sharp than otherwise, the man was in no small danger of being run through at every plunge. Col. Dodge, discovering this, lost no time in drawing a pistol, and with the rapidity of thought, shot a ball through the center of the Indian's head.

Thus terminated the first engagement of the miners of Wisconsin with the Sauks and their allies in the War of 1832.

Mineral Point, December 8, 1840.

Notes on the Black Hawk War

By Peter Parkinson, Jr.

In the spring of 1832, Col. Henry Gratiot went on a mission to the Sauk and Fox Indians, at their encampment on Rock River, some twenty or thirty miles below Dixon, to endeavor to learn the intentions of the Indians, and they detained him a prisoner some three days. This was prior to Stillman's defeat. My father, D. M. Parkinson, was sent by the people, early in May, an express to John Dixon, on Rock River, to ask his opinion whether the Sauks and Foxes were for peace or war. The date of the council with the Winnebagoes at the head of Fourth Lake is given in Gen. Smith's *History* as May 25th. I am quite confident this is correct. It certainly cannot be much out of the way. I remember well it was but a few days after Stillman's defeat at Kishwaukee which happened on the 14th of that month, that Col. Dodge was at Dixon when Stillman's affair occurred, when he immediately hastened home; and in a few days proceeded to the Four Lakes, and held this conference with the Winnebagoes. The reference in Dodge's address to the Indians to eleven whites having been killed in a fight, must refer to the Kishwaukee affair; but the reference to the whites having killed eleven of the Sauks and Foxes, I do not understand.[1]

[1] Eleven was the number of Stillman's men killed, as stated by Gov. Reynolds, in his *Life and Times*, who gives the number of Indians slain in that affair as eight, which, very likely, was reported as eleven at the time. Dodge in his address to the Indians at the conference of the Four Lakes, mentioned that on the advance of the main army, the Indians retreated. Smith, in his *Indian Campaign of 1832*, Wakefield and Reynolds state that a strong party visited the battle-grounds the following day. So Dodge's talk had sole reference to this affair, though he did not specifically name it, which was the only one then known to him where lives were lost; and this fact goes to confirm the correctness of the date, May 25th, as the one of the Four Lake conference. L. C. D.

I was not present at this conference, but understood that White Crow, Whirling Thunder, and Spotted Arm participated in it—White Crow being the chief speaker of the occasion. The object of the conference was to conciliate the Winnebagoes, and secure their friendship in our favor; and they did give Cols. Dodge and Gratiot the strongest assurances of friendship and fidelity. Still, it was generally believed that all their able-bodied and efficient young men were with the Sauks both in feeling and action.

The surrender of the Hall girls, and the suspicious conduct of White Crow, a Winnebago chief, deserve special mention. It was at the Blue Mounds, on the night of the third of June, 1832, that the Winnebagoes brought in the two Misses Hall, who had been captured on the waters of the Fox River, Illinois, a short time previous.

I was then a mere boy, and had that day just joined Col. Dodge's squadron, at James Morrison's Grove, as he was en route for the Blue Mounds. Being so young, and entirely unacquainted with any one in the squadron, except Col. Dodge and two others, he, in the kindness of his heart, took me into his mess until I could be better provided for, as he said.

When we arrived at the Blue Mounds, we found the two girls there, who had been brought in by about fifty Winnebagoes. Col. Dodge feeling grateful for this act of humanity on their part, and being desirous otherwise to conciliate them as much as possible towards the whites, treated them with kindness and consideration, mingling and conversing with them most freely.

Among this band of Winnebagoes were many of their most distinguished chiefs and braves. White Crow—who was a Cicero among Indians for his powers of oratory and eloquence—Spotted Arm, Whirling Thunder, the Little Priest,[1] and others.

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[1] Manahkeetshumpkaw, or *Spotted-Arm*, was a prominent war-chief of the Winnebagoes. He was also known as *Broken-Arm*, from the fact that he had been severely wounded in the arm at the siege of Fort Meigs, in 1813, where he distinguished himself. "The wound was so painted," says Atwater, who saw him in 1829, "that the blood running from it, was so well represented by the painter, as to look like reality

Before this array of distinguished men of the Winnebago tribe, Col. Dodge sought to make a most favorable impression in behalf of the whites, who stood in constant dread of them, as allies of the Sauks and Foxes; and to carry out this intention, he procured from Ebenezer Brigham and gave to them a large, fine beef steer, which they immediately slaughtered, and upon which they feasted most sumptuously. He also gave them good comfortable quarters in some miners' cabins, which were located near by.

Just at night everything seemed amicable and auspicious. Col. Dodge congratulated himself upon the friendly feeling which seemed to exist among the Winnebagoes; but how long this state of things continued, the sequel will show.

Soon after Col. Dodge had retired, which was at a late hour, Captain Bion Gratiot, a brother of Col. Henry Gratiot, the agent of the Winnebagoes, and with whom the Winnebagoes were well acquainted, came rushing into the cabin where Col. Dodge was, in the most excited manner, calling upon him to "rouse up, rouse up, and prepare for action immediately!" that we were in the most eminent danger; that he was most confident the Winnebagoes meditated an attack upon us before morning, and that he was greatly alarmed.

Col. Dodge did "rouse up," his countenance indicating a gathering storm within; but he kept silent until Capt. Gratiot

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itself; and at a short distance from him, on a first view, I thought he had recently been badly wounded." He was a signer of the Green Bay treaty of 1828. His village is noted on Chandler's *Map of the Lead Region*, 1829, as apparently about a mile north of McNutt's Diggings, near the present village of Exeter, Green County. He is said to have died four or five years after the Black Hawk War.

Wawkaunweenkaw, or Whirling Thunder, was a signer of the treaty of Rock Island, in September, 1832. He belonged to the Winnebago band on Rock River, near Lake Koshkonong; and subsequently died on Turkey River, Iowa.

Morahtshaykaw, or Little Priest, was also of the Rock River band, near Lake Koshkonong, and was a signer of the treaties of Green Bay, in 1828, and of Rock Island, in 1832. He lived to a very great age, and died at the Winnebago village of White Creek, Adams County, Wis., about 1882. In some bout or brawl one side of his nose had been sliced off.

L. C. D.

related his grounds of alarm, which he did in his most exquisite French style—saying the Indians had, in violation of all courtesy and respect to Col. Dodge, abandoned the comfortable quarters which he had assigned them in the cabins, and had gone out far into the bush, and taken up quarters there; that the White Crow, who was their speaker, had spoken slightingly and disrespectfully of Col. Dodge, declaring that he was no great shakes of a fighter; that if Black Hawk came across him, he would make mince-meat of him and his handful of men, as he had done of the "soft-shelled" Maj. Stillman and his men at Kishwaukee; that the whites couldn't fight; that they were a soft-shelled breed; that they could not stand before the frightful yell of the Red Man—nor could they stand the tomahawk or the spear; that when the spear was applied to them they would squawk like ducks; that they would run upon the first approach of danger, and stick their heads in the brush, like turkeys or quails—exemplifying this whole procedure in the most insulting and fantastic Indian mimicry, and applying it to the defeat of Maj. Stillman, and winding up by saying that he was friendly towards him, Capt. Gratiot, and that he had better quit Col. Dodge, and go home and stay there. And Capt. Gratiot furthermore stated that the Indians were all sulky and moody, and stealthy in their conversation and movements; that they had been busy in grinding and whetting their knives, tomahawks and spears—a further evidence of their intention to make an attack upon us was that two athletic young Indian warriors were seen, just at the approach of darkness, slipping off stealthily in the direction of the Four Lakes, where the main body of the Winnebagoes were encamped. "Taking all these things into consideration," continued Capt. Gratiot, "together with my knowledge of Indian character, I think, Col. Dodge, we have real cause of fearful apprehension—at least I am greatly alarmed, and think we should prepare for the worst."

During this whole recital of Capt. Gratiot, Col. Dodge said not a word, but no one at all skilled in human physiognomy could have mistaken the raging storm within the Colonel's breast. At Capt. Gratiot's conclusion, he jumped hastily to his

feet, and although ordinarily cool and collected, he did upon this occasion indulge in some severity and invective.

His first words were, addressing Capt. Gratiot: "Do not be alarmed, sir; I will see that no harm befalls you—I will show the White Crow that we are not of the soft-shelled breed—that we *can* stand the spear without squawking, and that we will not run and stick our heads in the brush at the approach of danger; and by the eternal gods, the sooner he leaves these parts, the better for him!"

Capt. Gratiot, who no doubt felt a little nettled at Col. Dodge's remarks, replied gallantly:

"Col. Dodge, I confess I am greatly alarmed; but in case of danger or an attack by the Indians, I pledge you I will stand by you until the last drop of blood is spilt."

"This is all I can ask, sir," said the Colonel.

Col. Dodge then, in pursuance of his plan of teaching the White Crow that we were not of the "soft-shelled" breed, called the officer of the guard and his interpreter, and taking these two men and six of the guard, he marched to the encampment of the Indians, and took into custody the redoubtable White Crow, who had said he was no great shakes of a fighter, and five others of the principal chiefs, and marched them off without ceremony to a cabin near by, and ordered them to lie down there, and remain there, until morning; and to secure their obedience to this command, he laid down with them, at the same time directing the proper officer to place a strong guard around the cabin, and also a double guard around the whole encampment. These two strong guards took nearly all the men under Col. Dodge's command, so that virtually we were all on guard, and stood upon our arms all night.

Thus guarded, we passed the remainder of the night without fright or molestation. At sunrise Col. Dodge announced to those captive chiefs his purpose of marching them and all their young warriors down to Morrison's Grove, fifteen miles distant from Blue Mounds, for the purpose of holding a council with them, in the presence of their agent, Col. Henry Gratiot, of Gratiot's Grove—against which proposition White Crow strongly remonstrated, saying it was a long

way off, and that their feet were already sore from their long march, after bringing the Hall girls to the Blue Mounds—reminding Col. Dodge at the same time of the great magnanimity displayed on their part in their endeavors and final success in procuring the release or ransom of the two prisoners. To all of which Col. Dodge cordially assented; but remained inflexible to his purpose of marching them to Morrison's Grove, where we arrived about noon, Col. Dodge in the meantime having sent an express messenger to Gratiot's Grove, for Col. Gratiot, who arrived at Morrison's Grove the same night.

Next day the council was held, in the progress of which Col. Dodge frankly told the Winnebago chiefs of our apprehensions of their sympathy and attachment to the cause of Black Hawk; that many of their young men, we were informed, were already in the ranks, and fighting under the banners of the Sauk chief, and unless we could have the most positive assurance on their part of their neutral position in the war between the whites and Black Hawk, that he should be compelled to treat them as enemies; that we had the most undoubted proofs of the instigation and connection of the Winnebagoes with the border murders that had been committed upon our frontier inhabitants—to all of which the White Crow returned a negative answer, except that a few of their young men, whose warlike ardor could not be controlled, might be in the ranks of Black Hawk. But in the main, he said, the Winnebagoes entertained the most friendly and kindly relations toward the whites, and would not under any consideration be induced to take up arms against them in behalf of Black Hawk.

Col. Dodge, however, determined to be upon the safe side, and to secure this end, he stipulated with them that he should retain as hostages for the good faith of their nation, three of their leading chiefs, to which they assented. The chiefs selected for the purpose, were the Whirling Thunder, their principal war-chief, the old Spotted Arm, the most prominent sage and counselor, and the Little Priest, the magician. These three hostages were conveyed to Gratiot's Grove on the next day, and retained in the fort under the

care of Col. Gratiot, until Generals Posey, Alexander, and Henry arrived with their commands in this country. These forces being considered amply sufficient for the defense of the frontiers even against the Winnebagoes combined with the Sauks and Foxes, the three Winnebago chiefs were set at liberty.

These rigid measures of Col. Dodge have been somewhat criticised by some, little acquainted with the facts, and their propriety seriously questioned; but in my own opinion—and that of most of the inhabitants of this country at that time, they were fully warranted and justified by the circumstances which then existed.

In conversation with Ebenezer Brigham, of the Blue Mounds, some years after these events had transpired, as to their propriety and justification, he fully gave his sanction to them; and said at the same time, that the fears of Capt. Gratiot were well-founded; and that had it not been for the bold and prompt action of Col. Dodge, we might, and perhaps would, have been attacked by the whole force of the Winnebagoes, whom he knew to be then encamped near the Four Lakes, and waiting, as he verily believed, for a favorable opportunity to make a strike in behalf of Black Hawk; but the timely movements of Col. Dodge foiled them.

Of the *personelle* of the Winnebago chiefs who ransomed and brought in the Hall girls, I will give my best recollections. White Crow appeared to be about fifty years of age. He was about five feet, ten inches in stature, straight and erect; and of a mild and pleasant countenance for a savage. He was a fine and fluent speaker, and the spokesman of his band on all important occasions.

Spotted Arm had the appearance of a man of sixty, was about the same size and form of White Crow, except that he was stoop-shouldered and ill-shaped; but possessed a mild and agreeable temperament. He and Little Priest, and another chief were detained by Col. Dodge at Gratiot's Grove as hostages for the good conduct of their people. While kept there, I saw considerable of Spotted Arm. His village was near or just where the village of Exeter now stands. After the Rock Island treaty, in September, 1832, when the

Winnebagoes relinquished all claim to the lead-mine country, Spotted Arm emigrated with his little band to more congenial hunting grounds, in the new home assigned the Winnebagoes west of the Mississippi. Whirling Thunder and Little Priest appeared to be about thirty-five years of age. I can say but little of either, save that Whirling Thunder was morose and sullen in his appearance, and had the reputation of being cruel. He was short and thick-set, not more than five feet, eight inches in height. Of his subsequent career, I have no knowledge.

Little Priest was a small-sized Indian, of symmetrical form and not very erect. He was about five feet seven inches in height. He had piercing black eyes, and evinced but little inclination to engage in conversation. While sprightly in his actions, his appearance was fierce and uninviting.

The battle of Peckatonica, June 16th, 1832, was perhaps one of the most remarkable contests, for the numbers engaged that was ever fought, in its fierceness and in its desperate and sanguinary character, as well as in its effects and influences upon the savages connected with the war. It is, therefore, desirable to know all the circumstances connected with it, and that led to it. Suffice it to say, that about the first days of May, 1832, the notable war-chief, Black Hawk, who ranked second only to the great Tecumseh, crossed the Mississippi, with his warlike band of about one thousand braves, and invaded the State of Illinois. He marched up the valley of the Rock River, producing the greatest fear and consternation among the inhabitants, causing them to flee in all directions for safety and protection. Black Hawk continued his march up the river until the 14th of May, when he fell upon the unfortunate Maj. Stillman, one of the commandants of the Illinois forces, who had under him, it was said, about three hundred men. These were most disastrously defeated, and put to ignominious flight, and never stopped the run until they reached Dixon, thirty miles distant from the scene of action, where they communicated to Gen. Atkinson the most frightful and exaggerated accounts of the numbers and ferocity of the Indians.

On the 22d day of May, three days after, the families of

Hall, Davis and Pettigrew were attacked, and fifteen of the number were massacred. Two young ladies were taken prisoners, but were afterwards ransomed by Col. Dodge, at the Blue Mounds, in Dane County, Wisconsin, for $2,000.

Individual murders were being committed about this time all over the country. At Buffalo Grove, one Durley was killed. The next day St. Vrain, the agent of the Sacs and Foxes, Hawley, Fowler, and Hale were killed. Four men were killed at Sinsinawa Mounds; others at Cassville, at the Blue Mounds, and various other places. While this Indian murdering was going on, which produced the greatest alarm and dismay in the minds of the inhabitants, the whites were no less dismayed and alarmed at the results of the battles or skirmishes that were being enacted in various portions of the country about this time. Gen. Samuel Whiteside, an old and distinguished Indian fighter, was encountered by a party of old Black Hawk's warriors, on Rock River and badly defeated. Soon after, Major Stephenson of Galena, a brave and chivalrous young officer, was also defeated in a skirmish with the Indians on the Yellow Creek, losing six of his men, and being himself wounded; the remainder of his men had to retreat to Galena, with great alarm and trepidation. Soon after this unfortunate disaster, Maj. Dement, another brave and daring young officer, was most disastrously defeated at Kellogg's Grove, losing many of his men, and about thirty of his horses.

About this time Apple River Fort was attacked by a large body of Indians, under the command of Black Hawk himself. The fort was beleaguered for two days, and it was only by the most providential circumstance that the women and children were not all massacred. Seventeen women were outside of the fort, washing at the creek near by. The hills and valleys were covered with children, and had it not been for the firing on the express men, passing from Galena to Dixon, who gave the alarm, all of the women and children who were outside of the fort must inevitably have been slain.

Thus it will be seen that the country was at this time in the most alarming and fearful condition. To still further increase this alarm and consternation, on the 14th of June

the affair at Spafford's farm, six miles southeast of Wiota, took place. It was this attack that led to the battle of the Peckatonica. In this massacre five men were killed, and two made their escape. One was Bennett Million, who was pursued by the Indians about ten miles, though they left him about four miles from the fort. The news of this terrible murder and massacre reached Fort Defiance about sundown of the day of its occurrence—the same day that Col. Dodge and his men had arrived home from an expedition to Rock River and to Ottawa, on the Illinois River. Eleven men proceeded at once to Wiota, or Fort Hamilton as it then was called, under the command of Maj. R. H. Kirkpatrick, arriving there about midnight. Next morning, having been joined by eight or ten more men, the detachment proceeded, still under the command of Maj. Kirkpatrick, to the scene of the massacre. After burying the victims, and reconnoitering the country for Indians and Indian signs, we returned to Wiota, where we met Capt. Gentry and ten or a dozen of his men from Mineral Point.

The detachment encamped there for the night, and, next morning, June 16th, about sunrise, the unfortunate Apple passed the encampment, going out to his cabin, about three miles distant, for his blankets, intending as he promised Capt. Gentry, to return and accompany us on our scout that day for Indians. In a few moments afterwards, Col. Dodge arrived from the Blue Mounds, having camped the night before at Fretwell's Diggings. Almost simultaneously with Col. Dodge's arrival, the firing of guns was heard in the direction of the corn-field near by. The Colonel proceeded on to the fort. Apple's horse came running back, shot through the top part of the head. It was now evident that Apple was killed. Col. Dodge was sent for, and by the time of his arrival, which was in a few moments, all hands were mounted, ready and eager for pursuit.

Col. Dodge addressed them for a few moments, in stirring and thrilling language, reminding them of the fearful and alarming condition of the country, of the exposed and perilous condition of ourselves and families, and the absolute necessity of then striking a decisive blow; and concluded

by saying, "I shall start immediately in pursuit of the Indians, and I shall overtake them before I stop. Mark the language—I shall overtake them before I stop; and when I do overtake them, I shall charge them sword in hand, let their numbers be what they may. If there are any in the ranks who feel as if they cannot do this, I want them to fall into the rear, for I want no cowards with me." [1] But not a man fell back—all were eager for the chase.

The order was then given for the advance, which was made in quick time. Soon we came to the mangled and mutilated body of Apple. The Indians seemed to have scattered in all directions, and considerable time was spent in finding the trail. When found, it led us through an almost impassable thicket of underbrush, grape-vines, prickly ash, fallen timber, and everything that was calculated to impede our progress. This continued for about three miles, when the trail struck the open prairie. Then the pursuit became animated and rapid; but in getting out of the timber, the line became wonderfully extended, perhaps a half a mile in length. This fact, and the delays occasioned by the crossing of branches, which were much swollen by the rain of the previous night, made travel slow. The Indians were often in sight, and we could see their movements. They seemed to be in no hurry to get away from us, neither did they manifest any fear or alarm, but moved leisurely along. The commander, as he seemed to be, was walking backwards and talking to his braves. He was perhaps fifty years of age, of tall and commanding appearance.

After the Indians had swam the Peckatonica River, and were about two hundred yards distant, the most of the detachment, with Col. Dodge in the front, came up to the high bluff of the stream, on the opposite side from the Indians. Here some random firing took place, but without effect. At this point, Capt. Gentry and Lieut. D. M. Parkinson galloped their horses down the river, and swam them across to the opposite side where the Indians were. This move-

[1] Substantially the same address is given by Col. D. M. Parkinson, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, 347; by Gen. Bracken, in same volume, pp. 370, 371; Smith's *Wisconsin*, i, 275.

ment seemed to turn the enemy into the heavy timber on the river bottom. Where the Indians crossed the river was high water, and the banks were steep; but we soon effected a crossing at an old Indian ford near by.

Soon after the passage, the detachment was met by Lieut. Parkinson, who conducted us to the trail of the Indians, which was at this point plain and well defined. When the trail was reached, the men were dismounted, and four of them detailed to hold the horses. The remainder, twenty-one in number, were addressed by Col. Dodge in a few very stirring and appropriate remarks, at the conclusion of which, the order to advance was given. This was the thrilling crisis of the occasion. We knew we were advancing upon a hidden foe, who were closely concealed in some advantageous position, from which they must inevitably have the first cool and deliberate fire, their numbers being but few less than ours; and, for aught we knew, might be much superior. Still, the brave and gallant leader, nor any of his men, seemed the least abashed or dismayed, but advanced into the dense thicket, with boldness and determination visibly depicted upon every countenance.

We marched in extended line, with the trail about the center. After advancing about one hundred and fifty yards through this dense thicket, and within sixty feet of the Indians, who were completely concealed under the bank of a slough, at least six feet high, the stillness and suspense of the occasion was suddenly broken by the Indian guns and the shrill whistle of the bullets, that passed so near our heads that we could feel the force of them. All was accompanied by the most terrific yell of the savage foe, that had so successfully and unfortunately frightened and terrified the Illinois forces upon all previous occasions. At this fire, three of our brave volunteers were brought to the ground. Wells, Morris, and Black received fatal shots; while Jenkins was soon afterwards severely wounded. The order for the charge was instantly given, and as instantly obeyed. The Indians occupied about the same position on the trail that we did—the trail being about their center as well as ours. This brought us together, face to face, and breast to breast.

The contest was a terrific one—a hand to hand encounter. The Indian's tomahawk and spear were pitted against the white man's bayonet and breech. The conflict was deadly and decisive. Steel clashed against steel, and the woods resounded with the most terrific yell of the savages. But in the end the bayonet and the breech were triumphantly successful. The last Indian was killed and scalped, and not one left to tell old Black Hawk, their chieftain, the sad tale of their wholesale disaster.

In this contest the tide of war was turned against them. In this battle they were as badly whipped and beaten as they had been successful in whipping all with whom they had hitherto come in contact. In this flight, Col. Dodge made good his words spoken to Capt. Gratiot at the Blue Mounds. He showed the Indians that we were not of the soft-shelled breed, as they had said we were.

I have said before that this was a remarkable battle. The annals of Indian warfare furnish no parallel to it. Never before was so large a war-party of Indians completely annihilated, with so small a loss to the whites, as in this desperate contest, where the numbers were so nearly equal. Lieut. Charles Bracken, who acted as Col. Dodge's adjutant in the fight, and whose graphic pen all the old settlers in this country well remember, in writing an account of this battle for publication, said: "There were individual acts of devotion and desperate bravery, which, if done in the days of chivalry, would have immortalized the actors, and furnished themes for the song of the minstrel."

This engagement was fought under the most depressing and unfavorable circumstances. The inhabitants were scattered over a large area of country, without money or credit, and without horses or guns, to any great extent. There were not at the time of this contest one hundred horses, or guns, in all this mining region, embracing a country at least seventy-five miles square; all of which was surrounded by hostile and savage Indians, who were murdering and scalping the defenceless inhabitants, in all directions. Men were being killed at Kellogg's Grove and Apple River on the south, at Sinsinawa Mounds and Cassville on the west, at

Blue Mounds on the north, and at Spafford's farm on the east.

The many disastrous defeats that had just befallen the Illinois troops, have already been alluded to. But, in addition to all these most heart-rending occurrences, the most of us had just returned on the evening of the 14th, from an expedition to the Rock River and Ottawa, Illinois, during which we had found and buried the mangled and mutilated bodies of St. Vrain, Fowler, and Hale, who had been murdered near Kellogg's Grove. The remainder of the volunteers who were in this contest at Peckatonica, or the most of them, had just returned from the Blue Mounds, where they had been to bury the bodies of Force and Green. These horrible scenes of murder and savage butchery, together with the burying of the unfortunate victims of the Spafford farm massacre, and the sight of the headless and disemboweled body of the poor old German, Apple, had the effect of harrowing up our feelings to the highest point of desperation and revenge; and we went into this fight determined to kill every Indian, or die in the attempt. So we fought with the desperation of pirates.

Some idea of the sanguinary and determined character of the fight may be gathered from a few incidents connected with it. One of the soldiers, in speaking of it, said, "When I charged up to the slough, I fired my gun, dropped it; drew one of my pistols, fired and dropped it; drew the other, fired and dropped it, and was pouring some powder into my hand to re-load my rifle, when some one shouted out, 'They are all killed.'" Some were run through and killed with the bayonet; others knocked in the head with the breech of the old heavy regular army musket. Our loss was Samuel Black, Samuel Wells, Montaville Morris, mortally wounded; and Thomas Jenkins, shot through the hip, who recovered.[1]

[1] Maj. Thomas Jenkins was born in South Carolina, in March, 1801; and after residing in Alabama and Missouri, he settled in Dodgeville, in the lead region, in 1827. After serving in the Black Hawk War, he represented Iowa County in the Territorial legislature five sessions, from 1838 to 1841; was a member of the first constitutional convention, and of the first State legislature in 1848. He removed to California in

Thus ended this remarkable battle, and I feel called upon, as its last surviving participant, though a mere boy at the time, to pay this small tribute of respect to the memory of the brave and heroic men who shared in this conflict and some of whom fell in the engagement—to say, that a braver and a more determined set of men, from the gallant old leader down to the youngest soldier, never conducted themselves better, or more bravely, in the face of a foe, than did those engaged in this remarkable fight. Besides Col. Dodge, who was acknowledged to be the most successful and experienced Indian fighter in the Northwest, there were Lieut. D. M. Parkinson, who had a brother who commanded a company under Gen. Jackson in the Creek War, Capt. James H. Gentry, Maj. Richard H. Kirkpatrick, Lieut. Charles Bracken,[1] and Thomas Jenkins, all of whom were men of considerable age and experience, having all been on the frontiers, and had more or less to do with the Indian wars and skirmishes of 1812–15. The younger soldiers of this contest were scarcely less brave and determined.

This battle seemed to break the backbone, as it were, of the belligerent Indians—to discourage and cow them—and to strike terror and dismay into their ranks. At any rate, it was the turning point of the war, and had more to do with its final termination than all other circumstances put together. Black Hawk's glory was on the wane. Reference has already been made to the many disasters and repulses

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1849, and in 1864 to New Mexico, where he died in 1866, his wife preceding him to the grave in 1850. He left two sons. L. C. D.

[1] Gen. Charles Bracken was born at Pittsburg, Pa., April 6, 1797. He was orderly-sergeant in the Pittsburg Blues, and marched to Baltimore to repel the British attack on that city, but did not reach there till after the battle. In 1816, he settled at Cynthiana, Ky., and was engaged in running the boundary lines between Kentucky and Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas. Settling in what is now Wisconsin in 1828, he figured prominently in the Black Hawk War, as aide to Gen. Dodge, in the battles of Peckatonica, Wisconsin Heights, and Bad Axe. He served three sessions in the Territorial legislature in 1839–40; and in the State legislature of 1858, and attained the rank of general in the militia. He died at his residence, Walnut Grove, La Fayette County, Wis., April 16, 1861. He was a meritorious pioneer and useful citizen. L. C. D.

that the whites had met with; but now the thing was changed. The Indians from this time forward were upon the defensive, instead of the aggressive as heretofore. Their endeavor now was to get out of the country. They were hotly pursued and overtaken at the Wisconsin Heights, on the 21st of July, where they were again badly defeated, sixty-eight of their number being killed upon the ground, and many more dying from wounds supposed to have been received in this fight. On the 2d day of August they were again overtaken at the Bad Axe, on the Mississippi River, where they were almost annihilated and driven out of the country.

Now it will be seen by reviewing the events of the Black Hawk War, that this battle of the Peckatonica was the first repulse the Indians had met with; and it will also be seen that the only battles in which the whites were successful were those in which Col. Dodge and his brave volunteers were engaged. It will furthermore be seen, that they were always in the front, and in the thickest and hottest of the fight. There can be no reasonable doubt, but that the speedy and successful termination of this war was largely attributable to the prompt, energetic, and judicious movements of Col. Dodge, sustained by the bold and brave volunteers under him.

When we compare the duration of this war, and the circumstances under which it was carried on, with those of the other Indian outbreaks of this country, we may be able to form some just estimate of the relative fitness and efficiency of those who had control of them. The Indian war of Virginia lasted twenty-two years; the Creek War and those connected with it, continued for three years, though waged by the intrepid Andrew Jackson; the first Seminole War lasted one year, and the second Seminole War lasted two years; and these wars were in part under the direction of Col. Zachary Taylor. The Black Hawk War only lasted about three months at the most; and only one month and a half after Col. Dodge became connected with the management of it. No impartial man who is familiar with the facts, can doubt that Col. Dodge was the main cause of the

speedy and successful termination of this war. I am aware, however, that some attempts have been made to deprive him of this honor. No longer ago than last summer, just after the celebration of this battle at this same place, an article appeared in one of the Milwaukee papers, I do not now remember which one, to the effect that he was entitled to no credit for the Rock River rapid's expedition—that Gen. Atkinson ordered him and General Henry there to find the Indians; that he hesitated to go, and after he got there and found the Indians, as the article stated, he refused to fight them, saying he was only ordered to find them, and not to fight them. All of which is wholly erroneous. I was with Col. Dodge during all that time; so was my father, who was Captain of one of the volunteer companies. He was the warm friend of both Col. Dodge and Gen. Henry, and shared the full confidence of both of these gentlemen, and was admitted to all their counsels and consultations. He often informed me that it was at the suggestion of Col. Dodge, and not in pursuance of any order from Gen. Atkinson, that the expedition to the rapids of Rock River was undertaken; and that Col. Dodge was justly entitled to all the credit and honor of that expedition, and its consequent results. This may well and justly be said without any disparagement or discredit to Gen. Henry, who was doubtless a brave and heroic man, but wholly inexperienced in Indian fighting, and greatly the junior of Col. Dodge in years. He showed his great prudence in conceding to the superior knowledge and experience of Col. Dodge in the management and conduct of the war.

Those who have read Gen. Smith's *History of Wisconsin,* or volume second of the *Collections* of the Wis. Hist. Society, will remember that in the battle of the Peckatonica, a young man by the name of Black was mortally wounded at the first fire of the Indians.

This young man—or boy, rather—was from the State of Pennsylvania, and was the only son of a very respectable widowed lady. He was attracted to this country by the great lead mine excitement, as all others were at that time. He lived at the old Willow Springs, near by my father's house,

and was often there. I became much attached to him, and much interested in his future welfare. He was of a melancholy and moody turn of mind at times, and again of the most buoyant and vivacious.

Soon after the commencement of the war with Black Hawk, he attached himself to Col. Dodge's squadron, and at the time of the killing of Spafford, McIlvain, and others, near Wiota, he was at Fort Defiance with me, he and I having just returned from Ottawa, on the Illinois River, where we had been on an expedition of ten days with Col. Dodge. We had barely got our horses out to grass---the only feed we could give them—when the express messenger came, bearing the sad intelligence of the killing of the men near Wiota. He and I, having been accustomed to prompt and energetic movements under Col. Dodge for the last ten days, were soon in our saddles, and ready for movements quite in advance of the remainder of the detachment, who were ordered by Capt. Hoard, the commandant of the fort, to proceed at once to Wiota. When the detachment was ready to take up the line of march, Maj. Kirkpatrick, who had command of the expedition, detached this young man Black, and myself, to take the position of advanced guard, saying that in case we fell in with any Indians, we would only run the risk of being shot, and, as we were mounted on good horses, the Indians could not catch us.

On the march to Wiota, which was in the night, Black was in one of his buoyant moods, so much so, I remarked to him that he seemed more than usually cheerful and high spirited; that I did not feel so—that I had a presentiment that we should smell powder before we got back—that in case we could overtake any Indians, we certainly should have to fight them, let their numbers be what they might. I knew the temper of most of our men, and knew fight was in them. I have heard Maj. Kirkpatrick, Gen. Bracken, my father, and others express their chagrin and abhorrence of the shameful disasters of the Illinois troops in such terms as assured me that there would be hot work in case we could come across any Indians, and I knew our only preservation

demanded it; and knew, furthermore, that some of us would probably be killed. I must confess, it was not the most pleasant subject for me to meditate upon, though I did not think I would be killed myself; and so expressed myself to my companion and mess-mate, Black, to which he replied, "Well, if we get into a battle I know I shall be killed; I feel it now—and am confident that it will be so." He was so earnest and confident about it, that it frightened me, until I came almost to realize it also, and then told him if I really felt as he did, I should make some excuse to keep out of any battle until that feeling left me. He said, "No, Peter, I would rather be killed than have the word go home to my dear mother that I was a coward." At the end of this conversation we arrived at Wiota. I said no more to him on the subject, for it oppressed me, and he said nothing further to me.

After Col. Dodge had made his brief and fitting address to his little band of followers, we then immediately commenced the pursuit, and the Indians were soon overtaken, and sure enough Col. Dodge did charge them "sword in hand," and sure enough the unfortunate Black, true to his sad presentiment, was mortally wounded.

I had the solicitude of a brother for this boy—for nothing but a boy was he. He was my junior in age one year. We were mess-mates, and had galloped side by side in hot pursuit after the Indians, and went together into the engagement, and he was shot down beside me by a ball just burying itself through the skin, just above the ear, but so fractured the skull as to prove fatal, while I only lost a small lock of my hair. I took charge of him, and took him to Fort Defiance, where my father's family were forted. For a few days we had hopes of his recovery. On the eighth day after he was shot, we learned that Dr. Philleo, an eminent surgeon from Galena, was in Wiota, to see the other two young men —Wells and Morris—who were wounded in the same battle. I mounted my horse and galloped to Wiota, and brought Dr. Philleo to see my dear boy friend; but when he saw him he assured me there was no hope for him—that the skull bone was so fractured that death must ensue in a few days, perhaps in twenty-four hours. On the second night after-

wards—at the dark hour of midnight—I was watching at his couch with the solicitude of a brother, with no light except what was given by the small glimmering blaze of one long tallow candle. I saw a faint smile come upon his countenance; it increased until it broke out into quite an audible laugh. In the joy of my heart, I put my face down near his and said, "Why, my dear Sam, what pleases you, so as to make you laugh?" He replied: "Well, Peter, I was just laughing at the idea of Col. Dodge saying he would charge them sword in hand, when there were but two swords in the crowd." Poor fellow! he knew but little of military language, but he died with the amusing idea no doubt, on his mind. These were his last words. He was soon after a cold corpse, grim and rigid in death. The second day afterwards, he was buried in a lone and solitary grave, with the honors of war, and perhaps no young man was killed during the contest whose death was more lamented than his.

This circumstance forcibly brought to my mind a scrap of history in connection with the death of Gen. Braddock, in which it was said that after he was wounded he laid in an apparent unconscious state for twenty-four hours, and then revived so as to say, "Well, who would have thought it?" then relapsed and lay twenty-four hours longer in the same apparent condition when he again revived, and said: "Well, we must do better next time;" which I could scarcely believe until witnessing the occurrence I have just related.

There are some matters connected with Peckatonica battle I will venture to notice. My father, D. M. Parkinson, though a lieutenant in the company at Fort Defiance, had no command in this contest, serving only as a volunteer; but he was the following day elected Captain of the fifth company of mounted volunteers of Dodge's squadron.

In the *Illustrated Histories of Iowa and Lafayette Counties,* pages 428, 429, it is stated that Little Priest commanded the party so completely exterminated at Peckatonica. This is a mistake. At the time of this fight, Little Priest was one of the hostages at Gratiot's Grove, and was not liberated till some weeks after. Another evidence of the correctness

to the Rock Island treaty in September of that year. Had he been slain at Peckatonica, we should hardly have found him sufficiently "alive and kicking," three months thereafter, to have shared in making an important treaty with our government.

Lieut. Fitch, in his narrative, is mistaken in supposing that it was the same Indian with whom Levin Leach had a personal encounter, that Col. Dodge shot with his pistol; nor was Leach's Indian the leader. Fitch's mistake probably arose from the fact, that he was not one of the charging party; but had been assigned by Col. Dodge to take a position, some little distance away, to aid in intercepting any of the Indian party who might attempt to make good their escape. I was near Leach at the time, and witnessed the incident. I know that Leach killed the Indian himself by thrusting his bayonet through him after he jerked him down on the ground by the end of his antagonist's spear, which he seized hold of, to prevent the Indian from running it through him. I am sustained, in the main, in this view, by Gen. Bracken's account, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 373: "In the charge, Levin Leach encountered a warrior armed with a spear; parrying the thrusts of the Indian with his bayonet, he dropped his gun, sprang upon him, wrenched his spear from him, and with it ran him through the body." Gen. Bracken erred in saying that it was with the chief's spear that Leach killed him— I can state with a certainty that it was done with the bayonet.

Col. Dodge was at the other end of the line, and so was the Indian leader whom he killed—at least he said he did, and no one ever doubted it. This version of Col. Dodge's exploit, is well substantiated in Patterson's enlarged edition of his work on Black Hawk, 1882, p. 170: "Col. Dodge in speaking of this engagement [Peckatonica] at Galena, after the close of the war, said he was amazed at the desperation displayed by a big, burly brave, who came toward him with his gun on his shoulder, and halted quickly when only a few paces from him, drew the trigger, and was sorely

disappointed in his gun not going off. Quick as thought, the Colonel brought his rifle in position, pulled the trigger; but owing to the dampness of the powder, it failed to go off. In the meantime, the brave was coming towards him knife in hand, and desperation in his eyes, and when only a few feet from him, the Colonel shot him down with his revolver."

Gen. Bracken's brief account of the affair is substantially the same—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 371: "When I got to the pond, I found no enemy before me; and at the same moment I heard the General [Dodge] who was a little to my left, say—there's an Indian, kill him; I turned toward him and heard a shot; and as I came up he said: 'There, by G ——! I've killed him myself.' This was the Indian commander."

I have said that Little Priest was a small Indian, about thirty-five years of age. The apparent Indian commander at the Peckatonica battle was a tall, gallant looking fellow, at least five feet ten inches in height, of commanding mien, and appeared to be about fifty years old. He had much to say, exhorting his men, during the chase preceding the battle, often running backwards, talking to and encouraging them, and haranguing them constantly during the fight. He was the one killed by Col. Dodge.

Lieut. Matthew G. Fitch, who shared in the Peckatonica expedition, and has left us his recollections of the conflict, was a native of Kentucky. He was a nephew of Hon. Wm. J. Graves, of that State, who killed Hon. Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, in a duel, in 1839, while both were members of Congress. Mr. Fitch came to Wisconsin in 1827. He served as Lieutenant in D. M. Parkinson's company on the Black Hawk campaign, sharing in the actions at Wisconsin Heights and Bad Axe, and was a good officer. There are in the cabinet of the Historical Society some of Fitch's personal relics—among them, his powder-horn, with the date 1828 cut on it. He was not in public life after the war. He died at Mineral Point, Iowa County, Wisconsin, about April 13, 1844, in the prime of life, and much regretted. He was under size, some five feet eight inches in stature, weighing perhaps one hundred and forty pounds. He left a widow and four children, who, after his death, went to Texas with Mrs. Fitch's father, George Carroll, a nephew of Charles

Carroll, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

Maj. R. H. Kirkpatrick, who served with credit at Peckatonica, died in 1834, at Diamond Grove, three miles northwest of Mineral Point. In all the various relations of life, both public and private, he was a first-class man. His widow still survives.

Lieut. Porter, who also figured in the Peckatonica affair, belonged at Mineral Point. Mrs. Elvira J. Whiteside, who personally knew him, says his first name was John. She agrees with me in thinking that on the opening of the Dubuque mines after the Black Hawk War, Porter repaired to that point and died there.

Since the death of Maj. Wm. Deviese, near Belleville, Dane County, Aug. 22, 1885, in his ninety-third year, I know of none of my fellow associates of Peckatonica battle now surviving. After over fifty-three years, I alone remain.

Col. Dodge's battalion marched across the country to join Gen. Atkinson on Rock River. It was on this route, between now Exeter, in Green County, and Rock River—some say near First (or Kegonsa) Lake—but it was nearer Lake Koshkonong, at our encampment, early in the morning, that White Crow, with six of his warriors, joined us tendering his services to pilot the troops to the locality of Black Hawk. Whether White Crow was justly chargeable with intended treachery may be a debatable question; I think, however, he was—not, perhaps, in trying to mislead the army to Black Hawk, but in pretending friendship to the whites, when, in fact, it was quite clear that his sympathies were for Black Hawk.

His conduct at and near Lake Koshkonong was this: He had said to Col. Dodge and others that he knew where Black Hawk was encamped, and would be our guide there, if desired. His proposal was at once accepted; but on the march that day, we were met by an express from Gen. Atkinson, ordering Col. Dodge and Gen. Alexander, who were then together, to march directly to him, which threw us off the route we were pursuing under the guidance of White Crow. When the chief learned of these orders he refused

to accompany us, saying he did not agree to conduct us to Gen. Atkinson. It was only by the use of severe language on the part of Col. Dodge, that White Crow was prevailed on to continue with us. We reached Atkinson's camp that night, and returned the next day to Whitewater near where Black Hawk was encamped.

That night Capt. Charles Dunn—afterwards Chief Justice Dunn, of Wisconsin—was accidentally wounded. The next morning, a reconnaissance of Black Hawk's encampment was made—Black Hawk's Island, at the upper end of Lake Koshkonong—by Col. W. S. Hamilton, who at that time commanded a small company of rangers and spies made up of friendly Menomonees and some whites. It was found that Black Hawk had, during the preceding night, abandoned his encampment. It proved to be a very advantageous position for him, in case he had been attacked from the opposite or west side of the river, which was thought to have been the pre-arranged plan between him and White Crow; and it was believed by many, that in case Dodge and Alexander had, under the guidance of White Crow, attacked Black Hawk, in this almost unapproachable position, they would have been defeated. It was in this view of the case, that suspicions of treachery were entertained against White Crow. His village, I think, was on the western side of Koshkonong Lake; but the troops did not pass in sight of it.

I have no recollection of the locality of the Burnt Village, said to have been on Whitewater. None of our troops could have burned it, or, I think, I should have remembered the circumstance. Cranberry Lake of those days is what is now known as Horicon Lake.

Pierre Paquette, with some five or six Indians, joined us at some point near the Four Lakes; and were with us in the battle of Wisconsin Heights, but left immediately thereafter.

I can recall nothing about the Indian ambuscade formed near the crossing of the Catfish;[1] but Indian signs were fresh and plenty. Our encampment, on the night of July

[1] Mentioned by Col. D. M. Parkinson, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, p. 356.

20th, was in the woods, about a quarter of a mile north of the northeast end of Monona (or Third) Lake, and about one mile northeast of the present crossing of the Catfish (or Yahara). We entered what is now Madison the next morning, between the Third and Fourth lakes, crossing the Catfish at or near where the bridge now spans that stream, nearly south of the former residence of Wm. Welch, Esq. After crossing Catfish, the Indian trail led along the slight ridgeway between Monona (or Third) Lake and the marshy land on the west. Reaching the point where the Lake House hotel formerly stood, just above S. L. Sheldon's agricultural depot, a lone Indian was killed. Then turning nearly due west, we pursued almost precisely over the ground where the capitol now stands—thence nearly due west, leaving the summit of University Hill slightly to the north. This was my first visit to the site of Madison.

During the chase of the 21st, occurred the incident mentioned by Wakefield, in his work on the Black Hawk War, of one of Dodge's men having received three wounds from one shot of a wounded Indian. It took place about fifteen miles west of Madison, and not far from the route of the present road to Sauk Prairie. The Indian was on foot, and a straggler, and when discovered by our advanced men, he attempted to deceive them, by crying out, Winnebago! Winnebago! It was regarded as a weak device—and if really a Winnebago, he was found in bad company, in the wake of the flying foe, and was immediately shot; and while in the act of falling, he raised his gun, and shot a young man of Capt. Clark's company, of White Oak Springs, whose name I have forgotten. I was near by, and witnessed the incident—the soldier received but one ball, and that in the thigh.

I was not at the Bad Axe battle. I heard afterwards, in general terms, of the dislodging of the Indians upon an island. I think the statement of Gen. Bracken is correct as to the pursuit of the fugitives by the Sioux; and my recollection now is, that this pursuit was by order of Gen. Atkinson, and was done by the Sioux alone—how many were killed, was never definitely stated. I think the slain of the Sauks and

Foxes were mostly women and children. Black Hawk did not accompany the main body of fugitives, but retired by way of Chippewa River, to the Dells of Wisconsin, where he was captured by friendly Winnebagoes.

Of Col. Marsh, who accompanied Col. Hamilton's rangers, I can give no account after the war.

Capt. J. P. B. Gratiot, who was with us at the Blue Mounds, at the time of the surrender of the Hall girls, was on no other occasion in service with Col. Dodge. He was captain of the company stationed at Fort Gratiot,[1] and doubtless had charge of the Winnebago hostages kept there.

It may be of interest to preserve a record of such of Col. Dodge's camping places as I can recall. I joined his battalion of mounted men at Porter's Grove at noon on the 3rd of June, the day of the surrender of the Hall girls, that night at the Blue Mounds, where we camped that night. The following two nights we made our encampment at Porter's Grove on the premises of Col. James Morrison, where Col. Dodge and Col. Henry Gratiot held a council with the Winnebagoes. The night of June the 6th, we encamped at Gratiot's Grove, having escorted the hostages there, which the Winnebagoes had given as a pledge of their good behavior; the next night at Kirker's farm, at the head of Apple River, in Jo Daviess County, Illinois, and the following night on Rock River where the city of Dixon now stands.

From this point Col. Dodge made an expedition to Ottawa, on the Illinois River, where Gen. Atkinson then encamped with his regulars, and there we staid one night. Returning to our respective forts in the mining country, we made our camps at the same localities as on our outward march. We encamped at Spafford's farm, near Wiota, on the night of the massacre at that place, and on the following night also.

Our camping places, while on the expedition against Black Hawk, in the upper Rock River country, I will give as nearly as I can fix them. The first night at Wiota; the next at Argyle; the third at Sugar River Diggings, at or near what

[1] The *Histories of Iowa and Lafayette Counties*, p. 472, make the same statement. L. C. D.

is now called Exeter; the next night at some point in the wilderness between Exeter and Rock River—apparently in the present township of Oregon—where White Crow and his party joined us. The next night we encamped on a sandy ridge, about twelve or fifteen miles in a westerly direction from Fort Atkinson; and the next day reached Gen. Atkinson's camp, where the fort named after him was located—this, according to Wakefield, was the 6th of July.

The commands of Gens. Henry and Alexander, and Col. Dodge, were now ordered to Fort Winnebago for a supply of provisions. The encampments on this route were not any notable localities, and I presume, are not material; and I may say the same of the return trip to the Rapids of Rock River, where we arrived the third day from Fort Winnebago. We now started in hot pursuit of Black Hawk and his band of fugitives. The first camp I need specify was that of July 20th, a quarter of a mile north of the northeast end of Monona (or Third) Lake, as already described; then we camped two nights on the Wisconsin Heights battle-ground. This is the extent of my personal knowledge of the matter.

I will close my paper with my estimate of the salient points of Gen. Dodge's character—particularly of his public career. Henry Dodge was no ordinary man, whether regarded as a citizen, a hero, or a statesman. But few men, in ancient or modern times, possessed these three prominent characteristics of the great man, more fully than did Gen. Dodge. As a citizen, he was just, kind and obliging. Discharging with promptness and fidelity all the obligations imposed upon him, either by the customs of society, or the laws of his country. He lawed not, he wrangled not with his neighbors; but lived in cordiality and friendship with them. In his disposition, he was kind-hearted and generous—in these respects he was not unlike the old "Hero of the Hermitage." Although he had a "bold and daring head," he had a kind and generous heart. In these respects, he, perhaps, was not always understood; some supposed, because he was a bold and daring man, he was harsh and cruel; but such was not the case. I knew him well, and in times of great excitement and perplexity, and never knew anything

like cruelty, or harshness in his nature. But on the contrary, knew many things which showed his kind and generous nature.

Only one of which I shall relate. It was at an early time in this country, when Gen. Dodge was living with his family in some small cabins, near the present village of Dodgeville. When on a cold November evening, just at night, a small boy with a heavy loaded ox team, was overtaken by a storm near the cabins. In his own language, he could hardly make up his mind whether to go in and ask Gen. Dodge if he could stay all night, or go on and run the risk of freezing. He, however, adopted the former, and went in and asked if he could stay all night. He said Gen. Dodge replied in a kind tone, saying: "My son, you can see that we can scarcely take care of ourselves; but the best we have, you shall be welcome to; we can't turn you out doors." He immediately sent a man to assist him in taking care of his team, and when he came in, Gen. Dodge conversed with him kindly and familiarly, making him, as the boy said, feel quite at home. When he was ready, in the morning, to start, he asked what his bill was, when Gen. Dodge replied in the same kind tone, "not anything, my son; we do not keep people here for money."

I have a remarkable instance of his kind and considerate nature in my own case. When I joined his squadron in the Black Hawk War, I was a mere boy, and quite a stranger to all that were in it. He took me into his own mess, and cared for me, and looked after me with the kindness of a father.

Heroism, however, I always regarded as Gen. Dodge's most prominent trait of character This was universally accorded to him, by both friend and foe. I never heard any one question, in the least, his claim to heroism. Most any man can be a good citizen, and many men can be wise statesmen, but few men can be heroes. Heroism is a rare qualification, and but few men possess it. The world's history does not furnish us with an account of many heroes.

Gen. Dodge's entire military course partakes largely of the heroic character. There is a heroic tinge about all his mil-

itary achievements. Taking into custody the five Winnebago chiefs at the Blue Mounds, during the Black Hawk War, was, under the circumstances, a bold and daring act; and required the nerve and boldness of a hero to have undertaken and accomplished it. There were about as many Indians on the ground as there were of Dodge's men, and their main army of warriors were close at hand, and they were just ready and greatly inclined to sieze upon any pretext for an excuse to join Black Hawk in his war with the whites.

His military expeditions to, and through the Rocky Mountains for three years, among the numerous and hostile tribes of Indians in those regions, was characterized by the same bold and heroic movements, that all his military operations were—so much so, that upon its completion, and his return to Washington, both houses of Congress unanimously passed the most complimentary resolutions, expressive of their high admiration, and approbation of the heroic and satisfactory manner in which he had discharged the high and important trust confided to him.

These are only a few of the heroic acts of Gen. Dodge, which so justly stamp him with the appellation of hero.

As a statesman, the occasion will not allow me to go into a very extended review of his course. Suffice it to say, he was in his public career, honest, frank and sincere, and expressed his views on all matters of state, in a clear, concise and convincing style. There seemed to be electricity in his voice, and magnetism in his manner, when addressing the senate of the United States, in which august body he served twelve years, and ranked as one of its most honored and influential members.

As executive of the Territory of Wisconsin, he was deservedly popular. His messages and other State papers, took high rank with similar documents for their sound, judicious, and statesman-like views. From the executive office of the Territory, he was chosen one of the first senators of the State, a convincing proof of the high estimate which his fellow citizens placed upon his abilities as a statesman.

Indian Chiefs and Pioneers of Northwest

By John Shaw

These reminiscences of Col. Shaw, like his "Personal Narrative," which appeared in the second volume of this series, were dictated by him in 1855—he was then blind—and noted down by the secretary of the Society. Other matters precluded its publication at the time with his *Narrative*. Col. Shaw passed away, as recorded in our sixth volume, in 1871. He possessed a fine memory of historical events. The Indians conferred on him the name of Es-sap-pan, or "The Raccoon"—perhaps expressive of his cunning and sagacity. L. C. D.

Treaty of Portage des Sioux.—At this treaty, held a little above the mouth of the Missouri, in 1815, the United States, I understood, acquired a title to the lead region. But the Sauks and Foxes generally repudiated the authority of the chiefs and head-men who ceded that territory, as hunting had become so poor, that they relied much on digging lead mineral and smelting it, and selling it to procure such necessaries and comforts as they desired.

Col. Robert Dickson obtained an unbounded influence over the Indians of the Northwest. He established a law, that no Indians should engage in war with each other within twenty-five leagues of Prairie du Chien—that wide belt of country should be strictly neutral ground. I think he must have made Prairie du Chien his summer home for some thirty years prior to the final pacification in 1815. When peace was proclaimed, he spoke to a large assemblage of his red children, and informed them that the treaty rendered it necessary for him to retire to the Red River of the North, and Hudson's Bay; that it caused the deepest gloom in his mind to be compelled to leave his much-loved children, and that he could never recover from this sorrow. The Indians by their tears and grief for many days evinced their strong attachment for their father and friend.

The Sioux Chief La Feuille, or The Leaf.—About 1818[1] some of the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien were killed by the Winnebagoes. The Sioux were the particular friends of the French, and La Feuille, or "The Leaf," was their head chief of the seventeen bands of the Sioux, residing south of the Minnesotas or St. Peters, some four or five hundred miles from Prairie du Chien as the Indians then estimated distances.

La Feuille, accompanied by about fifty warriors, made his appearance at Prairie du Chien, in response to an invitation from the French people of that place, who received the chief and his party with hearty welcome.

La Feuille was then apparently about twenty-eight years of age,[2] and very nearly seven feet high of great muscular frame, though not overburdened with flesh, with coarse features and long visage. He was majestic in his appearance, with a firm step, and commanding mien. He called a council of the Winnebagoes, and when assembled in a bowery, in Prairie du Chien, constructed for such purposes, he thus substantially addressed them:

"You Winnebagoes! the enemy of the white man and of all Indians, but too insignificant to be worthy of my notice. Had it not been for the call of my white brethren here, informing me that you had been repeating your murderous deeds by killing some of my esteemed friends, I should not be here in council with you to-day. Upon this call, I could hardly make up my mind to any other course than your total extermination; and you could not have expected any-

[1] It was more likely prior to the establishment of Fort Crawford in 1816. L. C. D.

[2] Wa-ba-shaw, or "The Leaf," the person here referred to, signed the treaty at Prairie du Chien in 1825, and was probably older than Col. Shaw supposed. He had fought for the British during the War of 1812–15, as mentioned in a note on page 194, ii, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, and was perhaps quite young at that time. When there are successive chiefs of the same name, it is sometimes difficult to determine which one is referred to in our vague accounts of Indian history. The 'great Wabashaw,' who figured during the period of the Revolutionary War, and is briefly noticed in Neill's *Minnesota*, pp. 228–30, was probably the father of this chief of the same name mentioned by Col. Shaw. L. C. D.

thing less, from my declaration on the last occasion when I met you here to chide you for a similar act of perfidy.

"You Winnebagoes! I will now speak to you in words that cannot be misunderstood. If I am ever called upon again to take you to task for killing my white brethren here, I will come down from the interior wilderness with my leaves [warriors], and will annihilate you;" and pulling out a hair from his head, and blowing it from his hand, added: "I will thus blow you away, so you shall never again make water in the streams flowing into the mighty Mississippi. *Do you understand me?*"

The Winnebagoes gave a hideous grunt, acknowledging that they fully comprehended it, and soon sneaked off. But they stealthily kept up their depredations.

About 1822, La Feuille again visited Prairie du Chien, with some five hundred of his people, and in council[1] spoke of his nation having formerly been the fast friends of the French—their first love of white folks; the traditions of which would, he said, be handed down to the latest generations of the Sioux; that their association with the French were more congenial to them than with any other people; but the French as a nation were weak and imbecile. The next friends we had, he said, were the Great Lion, the Saganash, or English, and being warriors, the alliance was agreeable; and for the British representative, Col. Robert Dickson, with whom they were so long on terms of intimacy, they cherished feelings such as words could never express. Now it was proposed to him and his people to make a treaty of friendship with the Chemuckomins or Long Knives, who had now become their neighbors, and they had considered the matter well. "It is our interest," continued La Feuille, "to form the new association, as our American Father has furnished us with so bountiful a supply of articles that we need—and this is the best evidence we can

[1] The treaty at Prairie du Chien, in 1825, is doubtless referred to, where the name of Wa-ba-shaw, or "The Leaf," heads the list of signers on the part of the Sioux Indians. He is unquestionably the chief mentioned on page 414, vol. ii, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, who aided in bringing the Sauk War of 1832 to a close. L. C. D.

have why we should form such an alliance. See what a large number of presents our American Father has sent us! See the clothing for ourselves, squaws and children; see the guns and the wampum; and, above all the rest, and what is most conclusive, see *the milk of the nation,* so kindly sent us by our Great Father"—pointing to a row of fifteen barrels of whiskey. A treaty of friendship was formed; and La Feuille continued amicable.

Tomah.—The Menomonee chief Tomah descended the river from Prairie du Chien to St. Louis, in 1817, in company with me. He could speak some words in French, and was quite companionable, frequently indulging in pleasantry and drollery. He was then quite advanced in years, but was very active, and made camp on shore, of nights, for us both.

Red Bird Disturbance, 1827.—Red Bird did not die till after his trial—not, as Gen. Smith states in his *History of Wisconsin,* before his trial. He was tried and convicted, together with Chickhongsic, or "The Little Steer," and Winaga, or "The Sun;" but the sentence was deferred till the last day of that term of the court, and then, from some cause, was not pronounced. During the trial, Red Bird repeatedly protested against the whole proceedings as, in his estimation, cowardly and unworthy a great nation. He was remanded to prison to await his sentence, and there died. He appeared to me to be about fifty years of age, and there was nothing very remarkable in his appearance. His fellow culprits, Little Steer and The Sun, subsequently received their sentence, but were ultimately pardoned by the President. I think there were eight Winnebagoes, instead of six as Gen. Smith states, who voluntarily surrendered themselves as prisoners, in order to relieve their nation from the disastrous effects of a war with the whites. The others were finally discharged without trial.

Black Hawk, 1832.—Not long after Black Hawk's capture I descended the river on a steamboat with him from Galena, and having been a number of years acquainted with him, he appeared glad to see me, and talked freely about the recent war. He said he had been in irons, but he was then

unshackled; several other Indians were also prisoners with him, one of whom was Waupella.[1] Black Hawk had an interpreter present, a Frenchman, so we could converse. He said he was glad to meet with one who could comprehend his grievances, and spoke of the misfortune that resulted from the misapprehension on the part of the white people of the object he had in view. That he had long been in the habit of visiting the British post at Malden, generally yearly, and received with his people liberal presents. That early in 1832, thinking it was a tedious undertaking, to make that long journey so frequently, and that the whites were then over-running and gaining possession by pretended treaties, of all their fine country, and but little game remaining, he started for Canada, with such of his people as might choose to follow him, with the design of remaining there;[2] that he had been forewarned by Keokuck and other chiefs, that in going in the direct route he proposed through the settled portions of the country, he and his party would be regarded by the inhabitants as making a hostile movement; but that he, Black Hawk, thought it better that his people should keep embodied rather than get scattered. That after they had progressed a few days in upper Illinois, he found he was pursued by the whites. He said he was still in hopes, if he could have an opportunity, to be able to explain satisfactorily the reason of the embodied movement of his people, but, he said, he had been grievously disappointed in the hope of a peaceful retirement to Canada. He was set upon by armed men,[3] which he supposed was only the advance detachment, and now concluded that war was inevitable.

Black Hawk related, that he then said to his young men,

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[1] Waupella, or "He-Who-is-Painted White," a Fox chief, was signer of the treaties of 1822, 1830, 1832 and 1836. L. C. D.

[2] This story of Black Hawk's design of retiring to Canada, as related to Col. Shaw, in September, 1832, is singularly at variance with the reasons and purposes of his movements as dictated in his autobiography the following year, and appears not susceptible of reconciliation. L. C. D.

[3] Col. Stillman's pursuit. L. C. D.

that inasmuch as the whites had commenced making war upon them, they should make the best defense they could. He expressed his surprise that the Americans could, in so brief a period, have assembled so large a force, and still more surprised to find some Indians among them. That he and his party endured great fatigue and suffering in their march, with their women, children and baggage, and discovering that the whites and their Indian associates were steadily gaining on him, he sought an opportunity of speaking with the Indians who were accompanying the Americans; but finding none, he went back some distance, the night after the battle of Wisconsin Heights, and ascended a tree, as near the American encampment as he thought it prudent to venture, and spoke in as loud a voice as he possibly could, desiring the American Indians to inform the whites that he was not for war; that he was only endeavoring to leave the country, and hoped he would be permitted to do so in peace.

But he said, he knew by the renewed pursuit of the whites the next morning, that further conflict was inevitable, and he felt convinced, that in the then enfeebled condition of his people, he had nothing favorable to hope for in the result. He now changed his route, and directed his course towards the Mississippi; and to facilitate the more rapid movements of himself and people, they were compelled to throw away all their heavy and most cumbersome articles. The whites also increased their speed, and he and his jaded followers were overtaken at the Bad Axe River—an indiscriminate massacre took place—many were killed and drowned; and Black Hawk and his people believing that no quarter would be shown them, escaped as best they could, and dispersed. As he spoke of the slaughter of his people at the Bad Axe, in their helpless and forlorn condition, tears coursed down his aged cheeks. The old chief added, that he was soon captured and put in irons; but finding that he would not attempt to escape, the irons were taken off; but he did not know what the Americans would do with him. This is substantially the story Black Hawk related to me. I never saw him afterwards. In conversation with him at

the treaty of Portage des Sioux in 1815, he said that he had seen me on the Missouri frontier many times during the War of 1812–15—I think he said he saw me when I escaped in the canoe at the mouth of Cuivre River.[1] I saw him several times before the Indian troubles of 1832, at Prairie du Chien and elsewhere, and he had stopped at my house and enjoyed my hospitality. He consequently seemed to rehearse to me his griefs and misfortunes with the freedom of an old friend. Of his sons I have no knowledge.

Keokuck.—At the time of which I am now speaking, 1832, there was no settlement at what is now called Keokuck, except Stillwell's cabins. Not long after Black Hawk's descent of the river as a prisoner, the remnant of his band arrived at that point, generally in canoes; warriors, women and children, numbering perhaps two hundred altogether, disembarked, and sat down along the beach. Keokuck, at the head of a few followers, now made his appearance—his first meeting with them since their departure on their adventurous and disastrous hegira. He appeared to be some thirty years of age; and as he approached, and beheld his surviving countrymen and associates, some wounded, and all haggard, and in a most pitiable condition, now returning, and looking to him as the most influential chief of the Sauk and Fox nations, for friendship and protection, he was deeply moved at the sight. He walked along their line forward and backward, for some minutes, the working of the muscles of his face, and even his brawny limbs, evincing the strong agitation of his mind at beholding such a scene. He burst into a flood of tears as he said touchingly:

"My mothers, my sisters, my brothers! I forewarned you of what I believed was inevitable—that should you persist in marching off in a body, your attitude would be regarded as a hostile one, and you would be destroyed. The destruction of that portion of our nation, of which you are the remnant, has been nearly effected. Your leader is gone—he is in the keeping of the whites—we know not what will be his fate. But you must submit to your condi-

[1] Col. Shaw's *Narrative*, 11, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, pp. 207, 208. L. C. D.

tion, and must now fully identify yourselves with us, the peaceful portion of the nation, and we will, to the utmost of our ability, alleviate your sufferings, and supply your wants. You know me well, and know that I never had a desire to go to war, either against the white or the red man, and always endeavored to inculcate by my own example, that peace was our true policy. Now my advice to you, young men, the remnant of a noble band, is to pursue the game in the forest, and not seek the destruction of your fellowmen, while your women cultivate the soil at some place chosen for the purpose, and there live in peace and harmony with all."

All were deeply affected, and wept like children, and seemed like so many returning prodigals. I was present at this scene, and had my feelings as deeply stirred within me as the rest. Gathering up what little they had, they now followed Keokuck a few miles up the Des Moines, where he and his people resided.

Keokuck was a noble man, and a good friend of the white's. His father's name was also Keokuck, and was the head peace chief of the Sauks and Foxes at their old town, about two miles above the mouth of Rock River, between the Rock and Mississippi, while a small portion were located on the opposite or southern bank of Rock River. There must have been five thousand acres in their fields, and they had every appearance of long occupancy and cultivation, and the soil was exceedingly good. There doubtless young Keokuck was born. His father must have been living at least as late as 1820; I know not when he passed away—but some time between 1820 and 1832.[1]

Black Thunder was a noted chief and counsellor, and a very remarkable orator of his day. He was considered the ablest speaker of the Sauks and Foxes of his time. I heard him speak when I went up Fevre River in 1816, and several times afterwards; and can testify to his great ability as an orator. He was of medium size, of strong expressive fea-

[1] Probably prior to 1824, as the name of Keokuck, or "The Watchful Fox" doubtless the son, appears appended to the treaty of that year, as well as to the subsequent treaties of 1825, 1830, 1832, and 1836. L. C. D.

tures, with a brilliant eye, peculiarly piercing when animated with his subject while addressing an audience. His energy was unparalleled, and he took a deep interest in whatever pertained to the welfare of his people. I do not know of his having taken any part in the troubles of 1832, nor what became of him.[1]

Of the Prophet, Nahopope, and Wisheet, I know nothing worth communicating.

One-Eyed De-Kaury was, I think, a Sauk, but was always identified with the Winnebagoes, perhaps by marriage; his home was near what is now Portage City. I have seen him at Prairie du Chien. He was called by the French Le Borgne, or "The One-Eyed." He was something over the medium size.

Yellow Thunder, a Winnebago chief, whom I frequently met, was a man of great respectability among his people, and an able counsellor in all their public affairs. He was a zealous Catholic. The last time I saw him was at the Indian payment in 1848, at Lake Powakanna, in Winnebago County. His old encampment, called the Yellow Banks, was about five miles below Berlin, on Fox River.[2]

Dubuque's Tomb.—Julien Dubuque was buried on a very high promontory on the western shore of the Mississippi, at some period prior to 1815, about a mile below the present city of Dubuque. A tomb was erected over the grave, covered with tin, and on a bright day when the sun's rays would reflect from it, it could be seen for a distance of a dozen miles below. So great was the veneration of the Indians for Dubuque's memory, that they constantly kept vigil for years over his tomb, till the whites became quite thickly settled in the country. The tomb has since gone to decay.

The Wisconsin Portage.—I always understood, that when the trade between Mackinaw and the Wisconsin and Upper

[1] Muckkatananamakee, or "Black Thunder," was a Fox chief, and a signer of the treaty at Portage des Sioux, in September, 1815. As his name does not appear to any subsequent treaties, he probably died not very long after Col. Shaw last saw him. L. C. D.

[2] He was a signer of the treaty of 1829, and his village is mentioned in Col. Charles Whittlesey's "Recollections of Wisconsin in 1832," p. 74, vol. i, *Wis. Hist. Colls.* L. C. D.

Mississippi had become important, the early French adventurers were induced to make a sort of pole or corduroy road over a marsh, for a mile in length, between the Fox and Wisconsin, and construct a large clumsily formed wagon on which to transport boats across the portage of ten tons burthen. This wagon was fully fifty-eight feet in length. The lading was carried on the backs of the boatmen or Indians, or on the rude carriage. This custom of rolling over the traders' boats was in vogue perhaps some thirty years or more, and ceased upon the erection of Fort Winnebago in 1828. Baptist Roy, lately a citizen of Marquette County, was for many years mainly engaged in this business, as was Pierre Paquette, of the Portage region.

Nicholas Boilvin, a Frenchman, was United States Indian agent at Prairie du Chien in 1816, and subsequently. His wife was formerly a Miss St. Cyr, of St. Louis. He was a faithful public officer, of moderate ability, but never obtained much popularity with the Indians. He left sons and daughters.

John W. Johnson, a native of Maryland, was United States factor at Prairie du Chien, in 1816, and afterwards. In his manners, he was a real gentleman, and a very worthy man; but unfortunately, he was quite deaf. He married a Sauk woman, and raised several children, and educated them; and finally retired to St. Louis, wealthy, where he resided the last I heard of him.

Capt. John Throckmorton and one Shellcross were the first persons who engaged in steamboating on the Upper Mississippi. Throckmorton first brought a small steamer, called the "Red Rover," from the Ohio, about 1820. He afterwards built the steamboat "Warrior," at Pittsburgh, and engaged with it in the Upper Mississippi trade, and had much of the government patronage in transporting troops, supplies and Indian goods for the factory trade. He was in the battle of Bad Axe with his steamer, and played quite a part in that affair. He was, some five years since, still navigating the Upper Mississippi, making St. Louis his home.

September, 1855.

Causes of the Black Hawk War

The following extracts are taken from the *Kentucky Commonwealth*, of May 28th, 1833, edited by the late Hon. Orlando Brown, personally known to the writer of this note as an able, conscientious man, who was secretary of state of Kentucky under Gov. J. J. Crittenden, and commissioner of Indian affairs under President Taylor. L. C. D.

"We have heretofore alleged the existence of a rumor that a son of Black Hawk had been taken prisoner, and had received five hundred lashes, and that this was the last in a series of outrages that had induced his father to take up arms. Our authority for asserting that such a rumor existed is of the most respectable kind; nay more, we had the information from two gentlemen, one of whom ascended the Ohio River with the Indian chiefs and got his information from them—the other gentleman resides near the disputed territory, and served in the campaign against Black Hawk. The latter gentleman said that it was believed that the young Indian was treated in the unmerciful manner as described in our article upon that subject. With both of these gentlemen the editor of the *Globe*—who discredits this rumor—has a personal acquaintance, and if their names were mentioned, he would blush to think how recklessly he had doubted an assertion which could be so authoritatively sustained. The article in the *Globe* is one of singular construction; and, in its zeal to correct an error, admits a fact, if possible, more discreditable than that from which it is endeavoring to escape. After arguing—that as Black Hawk said nothing about the flogging of his son when he had his talk with the president, that therefore he was not flogged—he proceeds to state, that Black Hawk himself declared that "he crossed the river to raise provisions where he thought he had a right to raise them," and that this was the cause of the war. Well, if his silence is conclusive

proof in one instance, his assertion should be so in another; and how glorious does not that nation appear who, for such a cause, would wage a war of extermination upon an ignorant people.[1]

We know something of these matters from our own observation, and have witnessed outrages committed upon the Indians until in their rage they gnashed their teeth together, and full grown and bold men wept like little children, because they dared not to make any resistance. They were not afraid for themselves, but they trembled for their wives and children, well knowing that upon the slightest pretext the cry of Indian murders would be raised, and their tribes would be overrun in a moment. On one occasion a poor fellow, who had been most unmercifully beaten, was advised to appeal to the courts for redress. He did so; and notwithstanding he made out a clear case of the most wanton ill-usage, he was refused any compensation, and at the conclusion of the trial he had to fly to his nation to save his life. This occurred in a small village bordering on the Choctaw Nation. Upon this trial, a peculiarity in the customs of this tribe was disclosed, which we believe has never been taken notice of in any written account of them. It is the Choctaw mode of fighting a duel. The interpreter was introduced as a witness to prove the extent of injury which the Indian had received, and he stated that a messenger came to him from the Indian, urging him to come and see him. He did so; and on his arrival found the Indian in a sitting posture, with his blanket wrapped closely around him and rocking his head between his hands. The interpre-

[1] There is no other authority for this story of the whipping of Black Hawk's son. The old chief, in his autobiography, states that, in 1822, three whites met him, and falsely accused him of stealing their hogs—took his gun, fired it off, and divested it of the flint, before returning it to him, when they beat him so severely with sticks that he could not sleep for several nights; and subsequently, he adds, the whites "burnt our lodges, destroyed our fences, ploughed up our corn, and beat our people." His son may have been one of the number thus beaten. At all events, these club-law beatings were among the complaints of Black Hawk and his people. L. C. D.

ter was then told by the Indian how badly he had been treated by a white man, and that he wished the interpreter to go and tell the white man that "the Indian meant to spoil himself." Upon being interrogated by the court as to the meaning of the message, he said that it was customary with the Choctaws, whenever they were personally maltreated or grossly insulted, to send word to the one who offered the insult or committed the injury that they meant to *spoil* themselves. He who sent the message took leave of his friends and then blew his brains out with his rifle, the Indian to whom the message was sent was bound as a man of honor, upon the receipt of the message, to kill himself also. In the present case, the interpreter said that he had much difficulty in persuading the Indian that the white man would pay no attention to his message, and that therefore he would be doing wrong to kill himself.

But we are devoting more time to this matter than is necessary. We will only say in conclusion, that more than three years ago we were informed by one of the most distinguished citizens of Illinois, that the Indians would before long be goaded by the white people into acts of open hostility. He told us, that from his own knowledge he knew that the Indians were the subjects of intolerable oppression, and detailed to us the particulars of an interview which he had with some of the chiefs, who had sent for him to come into their nation and counsel them how to act in their distresses. The speech which was made to him by an old chief whom he had known in better days, was of the most affecting character, and prophesied, almost to the letter, the transactions which have since occurred.

As you approach the scene of the late war you will hear of barbarities to which the flogging of the son of Black Hawk was most merciful. We should like to see an answer to the following query made in the St. Louis *Times,* of the 21st May, by a writer who takes the signature of "F," and whose whole communication displays a minute knowledge of the occurrences of the Indian campaigns:

"I should like to know, for information sake, who it was that employed a party of Sioux Indians to follow sixty or

seventy poor unfortunate women and children of the Sac and Fox nations, who had crossed the Mississippi River above Prairie du Chien, and were traveling on their own land towards the Wabesepinnecon River—where some five or six hunters had gone forth to furnish some meat for the half starved and half dead women and children? Those unfortunate women and children were getting out of the way of danger, when the Sioux bands were let loose, and every soul perished by their tomahawks and scalping knives! The murder of these unfortunate women and children ought to be enquired into by the proper authorities, that is to say, by the superintendent of Indian affairs, and reported by him to the government; and let those who advised the Sioux Indians to commit those cruelties, be punished. Well may the Indian say, there is no dependence in any white man; and in all probability the day may come when some innocent white person may suffer for those atrocities."[1]

[1] In Capt. Henry Smith's "Indian Campaigns of 1832," in this volume, reference is made to this sad event; and, it would seem from his statement, that the party of one hundred Sioux had "leave" to pursue the fugitives—from Gen. Atkinson, doubtless, as the commander in authority—and after two days' pursuit they overtook and killed fifty or sixty—"mostly," adds Capt. Smith, "it is feared, women and children." It can hardly be supposed that Gen. Atkinson contemplated such a slaughter of helpless non-combatants. Bracken, p. 414, vol. ii, *Wis. Hist. Collections*, states that Gen. Atkinson ordered this pursuit by Wabashaw's party of Sioux warriors, and that they nearly exterminated the half-starved and helpless fugitives—their hereditary foes. Hon. Peter Parkinson, in the present volume, confirms Bracken's recollections. In Wakefield's work on the Black Hawk War, it is stated that before Gen. Atkinson left the Bad Axe battle-ground, "he provisioned a number of Sioux and some Winnebagoes, and sent them in search of Black Hawk, to see if they could not capture him, and bring him in a prisoner"—p. 91.

Black Hawk in his narrative, refers to these unfortunate women and children, who after they had gotten safely across the Mississippi, were overtaken and slain by the Sioux. "The whites," says the old chief, sorrowfully, "ought not to have permitted such conduct—none but *cowards* would ever have been guilty of such cruelty, which has always been practiced on our nation by the Sioux." L. C. D.

Black Hawk Newspaper Scraps

During Black Hawk's travels in the eastern portion of the Union, while a prisoner, in 1832–33, a gentleman in New York, presented the old chief with the *Cherokee Phœnix,* and explained to him that it was the first and only newspaper printed in the Indian language; that it was edited, and had been edited for the last five years, by Mr. Boudinot, a full-blood Cherokee; was ably conducted and was a means through which they could communicate freely their injuries, complaints and wishes. Black Hawk paid particular attention to the subject, and appeared highly pleased, said he was well acquainted with the tribe; but had never heard or seen of their establishing a newspaper. He requested the gentleman to write his name on the newspaper, which being done, Black Hawk folded up the paper and put it away with care and said he would take it home to his people and show it as a specimen of what was done by the Cherokees.

While in New York, after Black Hawk and his fellow prisoners had arisen from a dinner table to which they had been invited, they retired to an anteroom to seek repose. Among the gentlemen present, was one who requested an introduction, for the purpose of having a religious conversation with the sons of the forest. Young Black Hawk, sometimes called Tommy Hawk, had just thrown himself on a sofa, when the object of the visitor was made known to him through the interpreter. He smiled, and replied, saying, "I la-zee—I la-zee,"—covered his head with a blanket, and fell asleep.

Black Hawk's reception on his return to Rock Island, where he was met by Keokuck's band, is related by an eye-witness to the New York *Daily Advertiser,* under date Aug. 5, 1833:

The whole suite arrived here a few days since loaded with assumed dignity and costly presents.

Keokuck's band speedily followed to welcome their brothers, a grand council assembled, among whom was myself to witness the deliverance of the Hawk to his nation. The council opened with the address of the president to Black Hawk, in which he is informed that in future he was to yield supremacy to his inferior Keokuck, the white man's friend.

The old chief in violent agitation, denied that the president had told him so; that he would not be advised by anybody, that he wanted what he said to be told to the president; and that he in person would have said so in Washingon; but that his interpreter could not sufficiently make known his views. The Col. [Garland] made to him a speech stating, that by his own treaty neither him or his people could for the future head a band, and that by that treaty, Keokuck was placed at the head of the Sac nation, etc. Keokuck with benevolence spoke awhile to the Hawk, then addressed the council, begging that nothing might be remembered of what the Hawk said; that he was too old to say anything good, and that he was answerable for his good behavior. The poor old chief recalled his words, and I do not know that my sympathy was ever more imbibed, than in witnessing his expiring struggle for freedom—nothing but his advanced age, and a want of military power will prevent him from making another effort. Keokuck's band, gave us a splendid dance, but the Hawk's party were either too dejected or too sullen to participate in the festivities.

That you may tell the good citizens of New York, these Indians would willingly get up another war, in order to make another visit to the East, and return loaded with presents and almost satiated with attention.

Robert S. Black and the Black Hawk War

By George W. Jones

The Dodgeville (Wisconsin) *Chronicle* contains an obituary of Robert S. Black, who died at that place October 23, 1872, aged ninety-three years. Mr. Black was born in the city of Londonderry, Ireland, and came to America when quite young. The first years of his residence in this country were passed in Philadelphia and Charleston, South Carolina. He came to Wisconsin more than forty years ago. Those who now enjoy the peace and plenty with which this region is blest can little imagine the dangers and discomforts to which the pioneers were subjected. The Indian war-whoop and the howl of the scarcely less savage wolf, was the welcome that greeted those who came to wrest those beautiful hills and prairies from the hands of desolation.

During the Black Hawk War, Black rendered valuable services, and, on more than one occasion, was the bearer of dispatches when none others could be found willing to risk their lives in traveling through the Indian-infested country. Mr. Black leaves many relatives, friends and acquaintances in Dubuque, such as the Bensons, Wallaces, Wilsons, Gen. Jones, Lewis, and other old settlers. He married the widow McArthur, who will be remembered by early settlers as the hostess at Elk Grove and Belmont, in the days when Michigan Territory included not only the State by that name, but the territory now covered by Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and so on, including everything north of 36° 30′, and west to the Pacific ocean.

Mrs. Black was the half sister of Henry Dodge, the first governor, and the first senator in Congress, from Wisconsin, and colonel of the "mining regiment" which put an end to the Black Hawk War by the last battle at Bad Axe, when Black Hawk was defeated, and which induced Maj.-

Gen. Atkinson to exclaim, when he met the old hero at Prairie du Chien, as he threw his arms around him, "Dodge, you have saved me; you have dragged me on to victory!" Gen. Dodge, like Gen. Jackson in Florida, and Cæsar, when he crossed the Rubicon, had violated Gen. Atkinson's order, by going after Black Hawk instead of for provisions to the Blue Mound—giving him battle at the Wisconsin Heights as he retreated towards Bad Axe.

At this battle his subsequent brother-in-law, Black, his brave sons Henry Lewis, and Augustus Cæsar, now of Burlington, our United States senator and minister to Spain, his son-in-law, Col. Paschal Bequette, now of Visalla, California, Wm. J. Maddin, whose bones lie bleached in California, Col. John Dement, now of Dixon, Illinois, and his grandson, Henry Dodge Maddin, acted bravely their parts. His son-in-law, Bequette, had previously shown his pluck, and practiced his steady nerves at the battle of twenty Sacs who had killed Apple and scalped him, near Col. Wm. S. Hamilton's ford, from the ambush in which they were secreted, and waiting for Gen. Dodge as he rode along from Dodgeville over to Hamilton's—Fort Union, I believe it was called in those days. I was Gen. Dodge's aid in the Black Hawk War, and know.

Reminiscences of Wisconsin in 1833[1]

But few halt in the busy paths of today to look back over past years when Wisconsin lay sleeping in the cradle of Nature, as wild as when the broad river streams swept down the hill-slopes and valleys to the sea; when the beech, the maple and the linden had assumed their places on the margin of the hill, the willow had begun to weep o'er the sparkling waters, and Nature smiled on the crowning work of creation which summoned man to the scenes of earthly life and labor.

But such was the condition of Wisconsin only a short time ago, and here is a scrap of Wisconsin history as old to the common reader as the musical tones of Homer are to the fossilized lover of classical lore.

In the year 1832 there were enlisted four companies of U. S. Rangers, for one year—two from Indiana, one from Illinois, and one from Missouri. On the 23d of July, I enlisted in the Illinois company, Capt. Jesse B. Brown commanding, and some time in August we set out for the front. In those days the front was not down in Dixie, but any where in what is now known as the Badger State, wherever Black Hawk & Co. happened to be. We had reached Hickory Creek, about thirty miles south of Chicago, when we met a messenger with word that Black Hawk had been defeated at the battle of Bad Axe, and we were ordered to Rock Island.

We passed by way of Dixon's Ferry, and the Dixon family included all the inhabitants of this point—a census-taker in those days could have done better working per diem than per capita. From Dixon's Ferry our route lay directly down Rock River for about eighty miles; and on the way down the soldiers began taking the cholera, and we had to leave some of them after erecting tents and leaving nurses. We went into camp four miles south of Rock Island, and for three

[1] From the Madison *Democrat*, July 1, 1871.

weeks the cholera raged fearfully in the camp—thirteen of the company died, and were buried there in the woods without the use of such luxuries as coffins.

The site where Rock Island now stands was entirely vacant—a beautiful blue-grass sod, on which we frequently drilled. The Sac and Fox tribes of Indians came in while we were there, and signed a treaty of peace; and, on the 25th of September, we received orders to go into winter quarters at Danville, Ill., where we remained until the 13th of April, 1833, when we were ordered to report at Dodgeville. Our route lay by Hennepin, on the Illinois River, Dixon, on Rock River, Buffalo Grove, Chambers, Kellogg's Grove, thence to Fort Hamilton (now Wiota), where there was a block-house and a small settlement of miners. Considerable mining had been done at that place, but from there to Dodgeville we saw no house.

At Dodgeville were a cluster of eight or ten log cabins, with diggings and a furnace, and one little variety store in a log cabin—these constituted the town, and this was mostly the property of Col. Dodge. Here we met our colonel for the first time—Colonel Dodge. After remaining here a week we started for Fort Winnebago, via Blue Mounds, where we found a block-house. There had been a settlement here, but the people had all left on account of the Indians, who had killed some of the settlers. From here we went to the northwest side of Fourth Lake, where we encamped for a few days. Near our encampment lived a solitary Frenchman[1] in a log cabin. He alone constituted

[1] This must have been Michel St. Cyr, noticed in the sixth volume of our *Collections*. Wallace Rowan had first located at this point, just north of the outlet of Pheasant Branch, at the head of Lake Mendota—afterwards the site of Col. Wm. B. Slaughter's paper City of the Four Lakes, and was there at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, in 1832. Not long after, and probably in consequence of the Indian troubles of that period, he removed to Squaw or Strawberry Point, on the eastern bank of Third or Monona Lake. Thus in May, 1833, Capt. Brown's company found a "Frenchman" (St. Cyr) residing there. We may suppose he located there in the preceding fall, when the Indian war had ended. This serves to fix pretty nearly the early settlement of St. Cyr—one of the pioneers of Dane County. L. C. D.

the population of Dane County at that time. Between the lake and Belle Fountaine—a name we gave the place—we spent some time resting ourselves and horses.

We considered the country utterly worthless, and thought it would never be settled, except that there might be a settlement sometime at Blue Mounds, and one at Platte Mounds, and perhaps a small settlement at the Four Lakes—could we have been assured at that time, that we would live to see the whole country thickly settled, with a large city and a State capital at the Four Lakes, we should have promised ourselves a lifetime of, at least, three centuries. The country was wild and desolate enough, no whistling locomotives, lowing herds, singing milkmaids, tolling church bells, rattling vehicles, ringing anvils, busy mills, or whistling plow-boys, then; the wildcat and wolf roamed at large over prairie and forest in search of food, unmolested by the rifle's sharp ring; the oriole, the nut-hatch, the robin, the bullfinch, and the thrush flitted from tree to tree, sang their songs, built their nests and reared their young; and the white man's voice had not joined with theirs in singing praise to Him who caused the waters to gather themselves together, and the dry land to appear.

After several days' rambling around through this section, we resumed our march toward Fort Winnebago. We found the whole Winnebago tribe of Indians encamped, I think, on the ground now occupied by Portage City. The settlement there consisted of those in the fort, and one man without, who kept a bakery for the accommodation of the garrison. The local currency used was common playing cards, cut in strips, issued by the baker with his name written on the back—every spot good for one shilling or a loaf of bread. If it was not quite a specie paying bank, bread—the staff of life—was always paid on demand.

After leaving Winnebago, we followed the Wisconsin to Helena, keeping between the river and bluff, not a house, or any sign of civilization, did we see on the route. The town of Helena, on the Wisconsin River, consisted of ten or fifteen houses; but was entirely deserted, except two men.

From here we went by way of Blue Mounds to Dodgeville, and from thence to Prairie du Chien, and back to Dodgeville, where we were discharged on the 23rd day of July, 1833.

Less than two score of years have made a great and populous State out of a country then as wild as Nature ever left her work; and the money earned soldiering in Wisconsin, thirty-eight years ago, was invested in land in Illinois, which was afterward sold, and the proceeds re-invested in this same wild Wisconsin land, now a first class Wisconsin farm. Truly, we live in a fast age, and who dares to predict what the next half century will bring to our great territories still lying unsettled in the West.

Cadiz, Wisconsin.

Col. Henry Gratiot[1]

By Elihu B. Washburne

The early history of the country now embraced in the State of Wisconsin has all the interest of a romance. No man can read the account of the French domination over the whole country of the Great Lakes, running back as far as 1671, and coming down to 1763, without awakening within him the greatest admiration of those pious French missionaries who erected the cross among so many tribes of Indians, where a white man had never before been seen, and planted the flag of France as the sign of the protection of the French government. It was the French missionary, with a devotion unparalleled, with a courage unsubdued, and with a heroism never surpassed, facing hardship and danger unheard of, illustrating his whole life and career with pure and devout piety, who first trod the soil of Wisconsin.

No new State of the Union has done so much to preserve its history and illustrate its career and progress, as has the State of Wisconsin. Researches have been pushed in every direction by able and intelligent men, stimulated by an enthusiasm inspired by the subject. Such light has been shed on your earlier as well as your later history, as to challenge the deepest interest of all whose tastes lead them to pursue historic paths. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, thanks to the intelligent and useful labors of the men who have directed its affairs, and instituted its investigations, stands now in the front rank among the historical societies of the country. In the history of what was so long known as the "Northwest," it now excels any Society in the United States. It has not only passed beyond the ordinary bounds of historic research, but it has sought in print and in canvas to perpetuate the names and lives and labors of

[1] An address on the occasion of the presentation of his portrait to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, November 13, 1884.

the men who have been distinguished in all your annals, and did so much to give your State so high a rank among the commonwealths of the Union.

I can boast of having known Wisconsin for nearly half a century, for I first trod its soil in 1840, four years after it had been organized as a Territory. This was in Southwestern Wisconsin, for it was in that section that the first considerable settlements were made. That was due to the discovery of lead mines at a very early day in that region. I have now in my possession an old map, which I found in Paris, published in 1703, thirty years after the discovery of the Upper Mississippi by Jolliet and Marquette, which shows the existence of lead mines in that vicinity. What was afterward known as Fevre River, is put down on this map as "La Rivière Parisien," and in the immediate neighborhood of that river a lead mine is marked down, "mine de plomb." Lead ore discovered at so early a period, continued to be sought for by the Indians and the early French traders and explorers in what is now Southwestern Wisconsin and Northwestern Illinois, and in 1820 and 1821 what soon became known as the "Fevre River lead mines" began to attract public attention. It was at this time that Col. James Johnson, of Kentucky, brother of Richard M. Johnson, afterward vice-president, engaged in lead-mining and developed what was known as the "Buck Lead," near where Galena now stands, which undoubtedly yielded the largest amount of mineral or lead ore ever discovered in any one lode throughout the whole mineral region of the Northwest.

"Galena" had not then an existence, and when a post-office for that remote and almost unknown country was established in 1826, it was named "Fevre River, Crawford County, Illinois." At that time, the boundary line between Illinois and Michigan Territory was so ill-defined, that in the presidential election two years later (1828), a poll was opened at Platteville, and presidential electors for Illinois were voted for. On the 4th day of June, 1828, the commissioners of Joe Daviess County, Illinois, established a voting precinct at Platteville. The boundary line between Illinois

and Michigan Territory was not officially defined until 1830. Hon. John M. Rountree, who still lives in the same place, and who is so well known in all your earlier and later annals, and whose honored life is still spared to you, was one of the judges of that election. At this time, Crawford County was also assumed to be in Michigan Territory, and was one of the two counties in that Territory, and Prairie du Chien was the county-seat—the old French and Indian, and English and American town, with a history so full of interest, and for more than half a century the theatre of so many important events. When I first visited Prairie du Chien, in 1845, the outlines of the old French fort were distinctly traceable. Brown County (Green Bay) was the other county.

In looking over your earlier days, you find much that awakens your interest, and excites your attention, in Southwestern Wisconsin. It was there that the upper Mississippi River was discovered by Jolliet and Marquette, at the mouth of the Wisconsin. It was there, three miles below the site of Prairie du Chien, on the 17th day of June, 1673, that these explorers entered into that great river, before unknown, and which had been the object of so much speculation, an event which Father Marquette thus recorded in his journal:

Nous entrons heuresement dans Missipy le 17 Juin avec une joy que je ne puis exprimer." [1]

You will pardon me if I now come to speak more particularly of Southwestern Wisconsin, as it was that section I have known better than any other. From 1841, I practiced law for several years in Iowa and Grant counties, and had a wide acquaintance with most of the prominent men, lawyers, politicians, and private citizens, and at a time when that section cut a great figure in the affairs of the Territory and State of Wisconsin. It was in Grant County that I first knew your honored and accomplished chief justice—Orsamus Cole—when a young lawyer at "Snake Hollow," if I may be permitted to go back to the old name, and so soon to become a member of Congress. It was also in Grant

[1] "We enter happily in the Missipy, the 17th of June, with a joy I can not express."

County that I knew at the bar Nelson Dewey, a citizen of the county, your first governor; and it was in the same county I had as associates at the bar Ben. C. Eastman and J. Allen Barber, both afterward members of Congress, and both of whom have paid the last great debt of nature. It was at Mineral Point, in Iowa County, in the spring of 1842, that a brother, to whom I was allied by every tie which could bind one brother to another, commenced the practice of law, and was subsequently elected to Congress for three terms, serving his country subsequently during the entire time of the Rebellion. Wisconsin then paid him its highest honor, in electing him governor; and when he died, in the spring of 1882, in the strength of his manhood, and in the midst of his usefulness, the whole State paid the most touching honors to his memory.

It was in Iowa County, also, when Wisconsin was yet a Territory, that I contracted the most sacred and the happiest relation of my life, for it was at Gratiot's Grove, on the 31st day of July, 1845, that I married the daughter of him who is to-night the subject of this paper.

I have spoken of the discovery of lead ore in the Fevre River lead mines in 1820 and 1821. The development there of great mineral wealth attracted large numbers of adventurous men in search of sudden wealth. For many years there was a great influx of miners and prospectors, and from the immediate country about Fevre River they spread over the surrounding country and into the Indian possessions of Michigan Territory.

What I have said is merely preliminary to the subject of this paper, and to connect with Wisconsin the name of Henry Gratiot, an early settler of the then Territory of Michigan, an enterprising and well-known business man, who won an honored name as a good citizen, and made an impress on his time by the extent of his affairs, the probity of his conduct, and the great and exceptional services he rendered to the people in their early struggles, and during the Black Hawk War.

It is in the name and on behalf of his daughter, Adéle Gratiot Washburne, that I now come to present to the State

Historical Society of Wisconsin, his portrait, from an original painting by Chester Harding, and from which a remarkable copy has been made by your townsman and accomplished artist, Mr. J. R. Stuart.

Henry Gratiot was born in St. Louis, in the Territory of Upper Louisiana, on the 12th day of April, 1789, eighteen days before Washington's first inauguration as president. The ordinance of 1787 had been adopted two years before, and Arthur St. Clair was the governor of the Northwest Territory. Prairie du Chien was then, or had a short time before been, in possession of the British. The French Revolution closing in blood and terror a few years before, the French residents of St. Louis were eagerly watching the government of the Directory, and interesting themselves in the first glories Napoleon Bonaparte was winning in Syria and Egypt. Gen. Wilkinson was in the height of his treasonable intrigues in the Southwest, and Virginia had just established the county of Illinois, which embraced the present State of Illinois.[1]

Charles Gratiot, the father of Henry Gratiot, was a remarkable man in his day and generation, and had a history of almost romantic interest. His father and mother were Huguenots, of La Rochelle, in France, and were driven from their native land by the savage act of Louis XIV, revoking the edict of Nantes. They fled to Switzerland, and took up their residence in Lausanne, where Charles Gratiot was born in 1753. When quite young he was sent to London to receive a mercantile education. Developing an extraordinary capacity for business, before arriving at full age he left England for Canada, to seek wealth and fame through the fur-trade of the Northwest.

Embarking in that commerce, young, active, intelligent, and ambitious, he gave his personal attention to the exten-

[1] The County of Illinois was established by act of the Virginia legislature in October, 1778; but its organization cannot be regarded as a permanent one. Sometime after the establishment by Congress of the Northwest Territory, Gov. St. Clair, in February, 1790, visited Kaskaskia, and organized Randolph County, which like its predecessor, as Mr. Washburne states, practically embraced the whole of Illinois Territory.
L. C. D.

sion of his business, which led him to travel throughout all the vast region of the Northwest. With a trading-post at Mackinaw, he penetrated every part of the country where Frenchmen and Indians were to be found, for the purpose of extending the trade of his establishments. He visited the Maumee and the Wabash countries, traversed the Upper Lakes, and the Mississippi River from the Falls of St. Anthony to the mouth of the Ohio. About the year 1770 he visited Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, those two old towns which figure so conspicuously in your history. In 1793, he made the trip from St. Louis to Montreal in a canoe, up the Mississippi River to the Wisconsin, then by the Wisconsin to Green Bay, thence to Mackinaw, and from there down the lakes to Montreal; a wonderful trip, and one hard to conceive of at this day.

Leaving the country of the Great Lakes in 1774, Charles Gratiot turned his attention to what was then known as the "Illinois country," and set up establishments at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, where he engaged in business enterprises, and had a large commerce with the white and Indian population throughout that whole country. It was when George Rogers Clark invaded the country, that he stepped forward and gave to him all he had of influence and fortune in the cause of the American Revolution. Of this epoch and of Charles Gratiot, Gov. Reynolds, in his *Pioneer History of Illinois,* says:

"It is known to all, that Clark had scarcely received any means from Virginia to conquer and retain the Illinois country. The army commanded by Clark was in a starving and destitute condition, and had to rely for support on the resources of the country. They remained in the Illinois and Wabash country for several years, and were supported by the inhabitants during that time. The French people were too poor to give away their subsistence, and the support of the army fell upon Gratiot and Vigo for most of the above crisis. If the supplies had not been given by Gratiot and others, the great and glorious campaign of Clark must have failed for the time being. But the generous heart of Gratiot came to the rescue, and he paid and became account-

able to them to the full amount of his vast estate for the supplies of the American army. His heart and soul were enlisted in the cause of human freedom. The blood of the country of Tell burned in his veins, and all his means were exhausted in the glorious conquest of Illinois. In payment for his advances, Virginia agreed to give him thirty thousand acres of land in Kentucky; but after the State was organized, it was impossible to carry out the agreement."[1]

After the close of the Revolution, Charles Gratiot left the Illinois country and settled in Upper Louisiana, at St. Louis. He had come there with a splendid business reputation acquired in the Illinois country and elsewhere, and the historian of St. Louis says that at this time he was better known in Paris, London, and Geneva than on this continent. He married Victoire Chouteau, the sister of Pierre and Auguste Chouteau, and, allying himself to the founders of St. Louis, he came to be distinguished as one of its most enterprising and conspicuous citizens. Enjoying an ample fortune for that time, his home was the center of hospitality. His perfect knowledge of the English language, then almost unknown in that part of the country, brought to him all strangers visiting St. Louis.

Though for so long a time within Spanish jurisdiction, and nominally under Spanish rule, the people of St. Louis were thoroughly and completely French in language, habits and thought. When in 1800, Spain retroceded Upper Louisiana to France, the people of St. Louis rejoiced in being under the French flag. But in three years afterward France ceded all Louisiana to the United States. The treaty making the cession was ratified April 30, 1803; but the news of

[1] When it was learned, in the spring of 1780, that a formidable expedition of British and Indians was being fitted out against St. Louis, the inhabitants of that place, despairing of successful resistance, deputed Charles Gratiot to solicit the aid of Col. George Rogers Clark, then at Fort Jefferson, a short distance below the mouth of the Ohio. Clark quickly responded to this appeal, and hastened himself, with such a detachment as he could spare, for Cahokia, the nearest American garrison to the point of the threatened attack. The British and Indians were repulsed—Clark and his troops aiding in driving back this savage horde. See Beck's *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 325. L. C. D.

it did not reach St. Louis till a "bright day in August." But the news was not well received by the mass of the people in St. Louis. There is nothing in history more touching than the devotion and affection which these old French residents had for their mother country. The love of *la belle France* was with them a supreme and ruling passion. It was with feelings of unmeasured sadness and regret that they found their allegiance to France was to be severed. The transfer of the sovereignty sank deeply into their hearts. The long association of Charles Gratiot with George Rogers Clark and his associates, who captured Illinois, the interest he had taken in the cause of the Revolution, and the fortune he had devoted to upholding that holy cause, had made him in heart and sympathy more of an American than any man in St. Louis. He had the strongest desire to see the French territory annexed to the United States, to the independence of which he had contributed so much. He hailed the event with joy. On the 10th of March, 1804, tenderly and reverently the proud ensign of France was lowered in the presence of a great multitude, and amid tears and sighs. Then was thrown to the breezes of heaven the starry banner of our Republic. All this important and interesting ceremony, the germ of so much greatness, took place on the balcony of the house of the grandfather (on her father's side) of the donor of this portrait; and as the American flag was lifted toward the heavens, the emblem of a new, a great and a powerful nation, he alone saluted it with respect and affection.

Charles Gratiot had four sons. The oldest, Charles Gratiot Jr., was educated at West Point, graduated in the engineer corps, and became distinguished in his profession. As a young officer, he gained much distinction in the War of 1812, and in after years became the chief of the corps of engineers in the United States army. He was the officer who planned and constructed Fortress Monroe at Old Point Comfort, on the Chesapeake Bay, which stands today the most extensive and important fortification on the American continent, which will remain an enduring monument to the skill and scientific accomplishments of Gen.

Charles Gratiot. The United States honored his memory by giving his name to an important fort—Fort Gratiot—on the straits of Huron in Michigan, while that State named one of its large and important counties after him—Gratiot County. The second son was Henry Gratiot, the subject of this notice; the third son, John P. B. Gratiot, the associate and partner of Henry in the lead mines; the fourth son, Paul M. Gratiot, who in 1829–30 was a resident of Michigan Territory, and a member of the firm of Gratiot & Terry, doing business at Diamond Grove, Iowa County. His partner, John B. Terry, was well known to the early settlers, and was at one time a member of the Territorial council.

Henry Gratiot was married to Miss Susan Hempstead in St. Louis, January 26, 1813. She was the daughter of Stephen Hempstead, a native of Connecticut, from which State he removed to St. Louis, in 1811. He had been a soldier in the Revolution, who participated in the battle of Bunker Hill, and served as a sergeant in the company of Capt. Nathan Hale, the "martyr spy;" the steadfast friend of that noble, generous and accomplished young officer, he accompanied him in his fatal mission.

He was a man of much intelligence, of the strictest probity, and was possessed of all the elements of the best type of the New England character. Col. Benton once spoke of him in the most expressive and beautiful language: "Mr. Hempstead was a true and brave man, a man pure and without reproach, fearing God, and discharging every public and private duty with scrupulous exactness; he united benevolence with true piety, and in him patriotism was sublimated to the highest degree."

His eldest son, Edward Hempstead, had preceded him to the West, and had settled in the province of Upper Louisiana in 1804. A young man of the highest character and exceptional ability, he was elected the first delegate in Congress after the Territory of Missouri was organized. Hence it is, that the donor of this portrait is the niece of the first man who ever sat in the halls of Congress from the west side of the Mississippi River.

A young man with a wife and a family of five children,

growing up, Mr. Gratiot had thought much on the subject of slavery, and had imbibed such a hatred of the institution, that he had determined in his own mind, without consultation and without advice from any source, that he would not live in or bring up his family in a slave state. In 1825, the Fevre River lead mines having been but a short time before opened up, and it being in free territory, he determined to settle with his family in that new El Dorado. His brother, J. P. B. Gratiot (Jean Pierre Bugnion), determined to associate himself with him in his enterprise, and in the middle of October, 1825, they departed on their journey. Their outfit consisted of a two-horse wagon, with supplies and implements, and three trusty *voyageurs*. Peoria was then only a small outpost, and from there to Fevre River it was an almost unbroken prairie. They camped at night in the groves or on the prairie; shooting a variety of game for their subsistence, and jerking their meat before the camp fire, Indian fashion. After an interesting trip, crossing Rock River at Dixon's Ferry, they arrived at their destination. The two brothers pitched their tent about a mile from the river in a ravine, and near a beautiful spring, since known as Sunny Spring, and there they commenced building cabins and log-smelting furnaces.

In the spring of 1826, Mr. Henry Gratiot brought his family to Fevre River. Their trip was made by steamboat and keel-boat, consuming nearly sixty days. In the summer of the same year, reports were spread of a rich discovery of lead ore about fifteen miles north and east of Fevre River, by the Winnebago Indians. The discovery was regarded as a great secret by the Indians, and one not to be divulged without offending the "Great Spirit." But the richness of the mines, and the desire to profit from them, were too much for the Indians, and while they would not impart the secret directly, and offend the Great Spirit, they had been long enough with the white man to know how to "whip the devil around the stump." They, therefore, told Jesse W. Shull, who had long been an Indian trader, if he would go with them to the top of what is now Berry's Hill, overlooking the country to the north and east, they would shoot arrows in a

Henry Gratiot

certain direction, which, if followed up, would reveal their great secret.

Shull followed up the lead, and put up a cabin near the place where the Indians had found the mineral, and commenced prospecting for himself for lead ore. But the Indians soon drove him off, and soon after this the Gratiot brothers, availing themselves of a friendly half-breed Winnebago woman, Catherine Myott, negotiated with the Indians for the right to dig for mineral or lead ore in their lands, they paying therefor a large amount of goods and supplies. And thus was the discovery made and utilized of the celebrated Shullsburgh mines, which have first and last yielded a vast amount of wealth.

From the dearth of timber in the immediate vicinity of Fevre River, the Messrs. Gratiot soon found out that smelting could not be made profitable where they had established their first furnace. The process of smelting lead ore at that time was very crude, being but a slight improvement on the Indian mode of smelting by a log furnace or an ash furnace. These simple modes were succeeded by the "Drummond furnace," or "cupola furnace," a most valuable invention, made by Robert A. Drummond, of Joe Daviess County, Ill. The log furnaces could only be used where there was an abundance of timber. Having obtained the right to mine on the Winnebago lands, Mr. J. P. B. Gratiot, procured to be made an authentic survey thereof, and the location was thereafter for many years known as "Gratiot's survey."

The brothers then determined to abandon their smelting operations at Fevre River, and commence them in a magnificent grove of timber, which from that time to this has been known as "Gratiot's Grove." On the prairie immediately adjoining the grove, they commenced building houses for their families, domestics, and workmen. The facilities for smelting soon became so great, that a large part of all the ore raised in the mines was brought there to be smelted. James Bennett, an old settler of the lead mines and of Joe Daviess County, and who was the proprietor of the old Allanwrath Diggings, a few miles from Galena, once told me that he hauled all his mineral to Gratiot's Grove to be

smelted. Taking a load there on one occasion, he says he found nine smelting furnaces running, and that he had to wait nearly all day for his turn to come to have his load of mineral weighed. A season of prosperity followed, and there became a settlement of some one thousand five hundred people. This was before Shullsburgh had an existence.

At this time, Gratiot's Grove was considered to be in Illinois, and outside of Galena, the most important point in the Fevre River lead mines. Strangers visiting Galena were not satisfied without having visited Gratiot's Grove. And to illustrate the changes in the country, it may be stated that this settlement, once so full of life, business, and animation, has utterly disappeared, and there is hardly more than a single farm-house on the original site. From the time of the first settlement of Gratiot's Grove till the breaking out of the Black Hawk War, the little village was the seat of happiness, prosperity, and a genuine hospitality. The natural situation was most lovely. The people were all congenial, living very near together, and their enjoyments, trials, and privations were all in common. The wife of Mr. J. P. B. Gratiot was a French lady of the highest education, and wonderful accomplishments. All her family were driven from France by the storms of the Revolution. Her mother was a lady-in-waiting to Queen Marie Antoinette.

It is quite a translation from the court of Louis XVI to Gratiot's Grove; but she met all the changes with contentment, and in the most admirable spirit. Though brought up in France, and with a French education, she acquired in the course of her life a wonderful knowledge of the English language, and wrote it with a beauty and simplicity rarely equaled. A short time before her death, but a few years ago, she wrote a sketch of the Fevre River lead mines and of Gratiot's Grove, from 1826 to 1841, which is of marvelous interest and beauty. In speaking of Gratiot's Grove, the first time she ever saw it, in 1827, she says: "Never in all my wanderings had I beheld a more delightful prospect: the beautiful rolling prairies extending to the Blue Mounds, a distance of thirty miles, and the magnificent grove, as yet

untouched by the felling-axe, forming a graceful frame to the lovely landscape." This description recalls to my own mind the first time I ever saw Gratiot's Grove, in the summer of 1841, and the beauty of that whole country made an impression on my mind which time can never efface.

Mrs. Gratiot describes the life at the Grove with the most charming *naiveté:* "Ours," she says, "was a happy life. We were, as it may be said, camping out. We made the most of it, and were full of life and enjoyment. We had many visiting us, strangers as well as friends, and all were welcome, and to whom we offered a pallet and a meal under a shade of green boughs. * * * Our families enjoyed almost uninterrupted happiness and prosperity. The old days at the Grove can never be forgotten. Gay surprise parties in the winter would come to the Grove with jingling sleigh-bells to have a dance, and in return we enjoyed going to pleasure parties in Galena." But sometimes deep shadows fell across their paths. She speaks of her sister-in-law, Mrs. Henry Gratiot, who often found herself alone with her children, when her husband was necessarily absent, and then she adds, "that to the greatest gentleness and fortitude she joined the courage of a heroine: a most devoted wife, an affectionate mother, and kind friend, she was beloved and honored by all."

The breaking out of the Black Hawk War brought alarm and unhappiness to this peaceful village. In speaking of that event, Mrs. Gratiot says: "Up to this time (1832), our dwellings had been completed, and we were surrounded with many comforts, and in our light-heartedness, never dreamed of the storm gathering over our heads. On the 4th of July I claimed the privilege of entertaining our friends at dinner; the table was set, the guests assembled. Ours were primitive accommodations. I was carrying a large bowl of custard to the table, Mrs. Henry Gratiot was assisting me carrying something, when we saw four tall Indians, with guns in their hands, coming to the house. I was so taken by surprise that the bowl fell from my hands, to the great dismay of the children. I ran in to apprise the gentlemen. The Indians gravely entered, and we were quite relieved when we saw our visitors stack their

guns and accept a share of our dinner; but all appetite and joyousness had fled."

An interpreter was sent for, and it was found that these unlooked-for visitors were friendly Winnebago chiefs, who in their friendship for the Gratiots, had come to warn them that on account of the encroachments of the whites in their territory, they could no longer restrain their young men from making war. They said they did not want to hurt them, but wanted to advise them to remove their women and children. This was an admonition to be heeded. The news spread like wild-fire, and all was terror and confusion. All the women and children were sent to Galena. Mrs. Gratiot says: "We made our preparations to leave with heavy hearts, leaving our husbands to the dangers of Indian warfare," and she continues sadly, "when the teams drove up to take us away, we left our homes with many tears."

Many others besides Mrs. Gratiot have written of Gratiot's Grove, the exquisite beauty of its location, its beautiful climate, and the character of its society. Mr. Caleb Atwater, who was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaties for the purchase of the Indian lands at Prairie du Chien in 1829, visited Gratiot's Grove in the fall of that year. In a volume published by him in 1831, he speaks of Gratiot's Grove as follows:

"About twenty families reside in this secluded grove. Among the interesting people here are Mrs. Henry Gratiot, who was born and educated in New London, Conn.; Mrs. J. P. B. Gratiot, who was born and educated in Paris; Mrs. John R. Coonce, who is a daughter of the celebrated English botanist, John Bradbury, and who was born and educated in London. They all live within a few rods of each other. * * There is a post office here, and mail passes through the place once a week, to and from Galena. Mr. Gratiot has large lead-furnaces here, and there is a drygoods store, but no doggery in the village."

A roving contributor of the N. Y. *Tribune,* in July, 1844, writing from Gratiot's Grove, thus describes that locality, as it appeared to him at that time:

* * * "'Tis a goodly sight to see
What Heaven has done for this delicious land."

"This lovely and romantic spot is situated in the southwestern part of Wisconsin. It is very near the dividing line between Illinois and Wisconsin, and about twenty miles east from the Mississippi River. Galena, Illinois, the depot of the Upper Mississippi lead mines, and a place of great business and activity, is about fifteen miles in a direction a little south of west, from that part of the Grove where I write. The first settlement made here of white men was in 1826—the whole country around here was then in possession of Winnebago Indians. At that early period, the Indians had made discoveries of lead ore, and had made some progress in smelting it in a rude way. Col. Henry Gratiot, an enterprising frontiersman, and a brother of Gen. Gratiot, of the U. S. Engineer Corps, was the first settler, and hence the name of Gratiot's Grove. In all my travels in the West, I have not seen a section of country combining so many advantages with so much mineral and agricultural wealth, and so well watered and timbered, as the country around Gratiot's Grove. Nature never spread out a fairer and nobler field for the enterprising genius of man. The great natural beauty of the country, with its shady groves, its high rolling prairies, and its rippling streams; the fertility of the soil, the richness of the mines and the salubrity of the climate, cannot be surpassed."

To us who live in these "piping times of peace," strangers to internecine commotion, and undisturbed by war, it is hardly possible to realize that little more than half a century ago, in what is now your beautiful and peaceful county of Lafayette, women and children were fleeing from the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. It is well for us in our busy and active lives to pause in the presence of such a history, and pay a respectful tribute to the memory of those of your early settlers who, amid so many dangers and privations, helped to lay the foundations of your noble State.

There never was a white man in his time, or any other time, that had so much influence over the Indians of the

Northwest as Col. Gratiot. His knowledge of the Indian character, obtained by him while in St. Louis, through his brothers-in-law, Pierre Chouteau Jr., and John P. Cabanne, both controlling spirits in the American Fur Company, taught him that to obtain consideration and influence with the Indians, it was necessary for him to deal with them with kindness and good faith, and never to practice on them any deceit. Let an Indian be once knowingly deceived by a white man, confidence was gone, and never to be regained. Always dealing honorably and frankly with the Indians, treating them with the utmost kindness, and vigilantly guarding himself and all about him against the least deception, even in the smallest matters, Col. Gratiot obtained an almost unbounded control and influence over them, particularly the Winnebago tribe, which in his time claimed all the country in what is now Southwestern Wisconsin and Northwestern Illinois.

Col. Hercules L. Dousman, so well known to all your early settlers, as connected with the American Fur Company, and so long the manager of its vast trading establishment at Prairie du Chien, and as a business man without an equal during his day and generation in the Northwest, once told me, that in dealing with the Indians what they had to guard against with the greatest vigilance was to avoid any possible deception when dealing with them. If by any accident or mistake a blanket or a gun, or any other article, which was not up to the standard was sold to an Indian, the utmost pains would be taken to exchange the faulty article, and replace it by the most perfect one at the earliest moment, without regard to trouble or expense. And such was always the rule of the American Fur Company in all of its colossal transactions with the Indians over half a continent, and it was that which enabled it, during its entire existence, to hold such a control over the Indian tribes.

The two most important Indian treaties ever concluded in the then Northwest, was the treaty concluded with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, executed July 27, 1829; and the treaty with the Winnebagoes, executed August 1, 1829. These treaties were negotiated with the

various tribes of Indians at Prairie du Chien. The commissioners were Gen. John McNeil, an officer of the United States army, Pierre Ménard, ex lieut.-governor of Illinois, and Caleb Atwater, a weak and inoffensive old man from Ohio, Charles S. Hempstead, for many years my law partner at Galena, was the secretary of the commission. The country purchased was of vast importance, embracing the region from Rock Island to the Wisconsin River on the north, and to Lake Michigan on the east, and taking in all that is now in Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, and, in fact, making the United States the possessor of all the Indian country from the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

The first person in civil life to whom the attention of the commissioners and others interested in making a treaty was directed was Col. Gratiot, as a man having more influence with the Indians than any other in securing the object sought for. The high estimation in which he was held by the Winnebagoes, brought to him the confidence of the other tribes, who eagerly sought his advice and suggestions. Of such value were the services of Col. Gratiot in negotiating the treaty, the secretary of the commission wrote: "Col. Gratiot is very busy, and if a treaty be made with the Winnebagoes, the government may mainly thank him for it."

From the friendly relations existing between the Indians and Col. Gratiot, he had been enabled to exercise a great influence in arranging the Indian troubles of 1827–28; but it was not till the Black Hawk War broke out in 1832 (which drew the Winnebagoes into its vortex), that his full influence was felt. In the annals of those times, few names more frequently appear than that of Col. Gratiot, and no man throughout the whole trouble accomplished more than he. The position he held as agent for the Winnebagoes, and the friendly relations that had existed between him and the principal chiefs of the tribe, was evidenced by the fact that I have stated, that the chiefs had come to his house at Gratiot's Grove to advise him that war was to be declared, and to remove the women and children.

The most important and dangerous mission confided to Col. Gratiot was the one with which he was intrusted by Gen. Atkinson, who was in command of all the force employed against the Indians at the time. He deemed it important that an effort for some accommodation with the Indians should be made through the Prophet, who was the right arm of Black Hawk. To that end he had recourse to the good offices of Col. Gratiot as the only man who would dare to undertake the mission. Gen. Atkinson prepared a letter to the hostile chief to be taken to the Prophet by his commissioner, Col. Gratiot. The village of the Prophet was situated on the beautiful Rock River in what is now Whiteside County, Ill. There is now on the site of the Prophet's village a beautiful and flourishing little town, bearing the name of Prophet's Town. I had in my possession, when in Paris, an original painting of the Prophet, by Catlin. I had represented Whiteside County in Congress for six years, and had there many valued friends. It occurred to me that a copy of this painting would be considered by the people of Whiteside County a valuable and interesting souvenir of the great chief whose home had, in by-gone days, so long been in their county. I therefore had recourse to the gifted pencil of Healy to make a copy to present to Whiteside County. That being accomplished in the most admirable manner, I made the presentation, accompanied by an address, at Morrison, the county-seat, in the fall of 1878, and as connected with Col. Gratiot, I venture to embrace in this paper what I said of this incident:

"It was the circumstance of the good relations and the high respect in which Col. Gratiot was held by all the Indian tribes of the Northwest, that after the breaking out of the war, he was deputy by the military authorities to visit the Prophet at his village, Prophet's Town, in the interest of peace, and with a view to some accommodation that might spare the inhabitants the horrors of a warfare with savages. He bore a letter from Gen. Atkinson, who was in command at Fort Armstrong. This was an important though dangerous mission. Col. Gratiot took with him his secretary and several Winnebago chiefs, all his fast friends, and all on

good terms with the whites of the country in that time of so much peril. It is interesting to know who they were. There was Broken Shoulder, an Indian of stalwart frame, great intelligence, courage, and sobriety. He had previously been an enemy of the whites, and he was shot in the shoulder while scalping a white man at Fort Edwards, near Warsaw, Ill. Hence his name, Broken Shoulder. Whirling Thunder was a man of great repute for his sagacity and wisdom in council. White Crow was an Indian of bad character, tall, slim, with a hawk nose, and with as much of a sinister look as a man could have who had only one eye, for one of his eyes had been put out in a brawl. He was addicted to gambling, fighting, drinking, and other disreputable practices. Little Medicine Man was a fine-looking man, rather under ordinary size, quiet, subdued, gentlemanly. Little Priest was one of the most reputable of all the chiefs, able, discreet, wise, and moderate, and always sincerely friendly to the whites. The party took their canoes at Dixon's Ferry, and descended Rock River to the Prophet's village. No sooner had the canoes landed than the Indians surrounded the party with every demonstration of violence, and made all of them prisoners. At the moment of the seizing of Col. Gratiot, the Prophet appeared on the scene. Seeing his old friend in danger, he rushed upon his people, and interfered in his defense, crying out: 'Good man, good man, my friend. I take him to my wigwam; I feed him; he be good friend of my Indians.' Col. Gratiot being connected with the Chouteaus of St. Louis, the founders of the American Fur company, which vast concern wielded an immense influence among the Indian tribes, both east and west of the Mississippi, was called by the Indians 'Chouteau.' Arriving as a prisoner at the wigwam, the Prophet said to him, that if he came as 'Chouteau' he should welcome him to his village; but if he came as a white man he must consider him, like all the whites, an enemy, and detain all the party as prisoners. Col. Gratiot explained to the Prophet the peaceful object of his mission, which was in the interest of all the Indians, and how great would be the perfidy if he and his party should be detained or harmed. The situation

of the Prophet was very embarrassing. He wanted to save his friend, but the young men and warriors who were behind him were clamoring for the scalps of the prisoners, and would never consent to their departure. After keeping the prisoners two or three days, the Prophet, uneasy, restless and disturbed by conflicting emotions, finally said to Col. Gratiot: 'Chouteau, you have always been my friend, and the friend of my people, and you and your party must not be harmed; but there is great trouble, my young men will never consent to give you up, and so you must leave without their knowledge; you canoes are on shore; go to them at a moment when I shall indicate, and leave instantly, and go with all speed, like wildfire, for the young men will give you chase. All will depend on the strength of your good right arms.'

"The Prophet was right. Hardly had they reached their canoes when the alarm was given, and all the young men of the village raised the war-cry, rushed to their canoes to follow the prey about to escape them, and never before, nor since, have the placid waters of Rock River been the theatre of such an exciting contest. It was literally a race for life. A score of young and maddened warriors were in pursuit, amid shouts and cries and imprecations. But a sense of the overwhelming danger nerved the arms of the pursued, for to be taken was certain death to all. And the pursuit continued with cheers and savage yells through long and dreary hours. Silence fell at last upon the pursuers. In the stillness of the night no sound was heard, except the quick and regular stroke of the paddle, wielded with gigantic strength. Sullen, resolute, determined, nothing could divert the attention of these red men of our prairies, who gave no heed to anything but the vital matter in hand. The race was at last to the swift, and victory to the strong. As daylight appeared, the shores of the river revealed to the exhausted party, that they had passed the point of danger, and were within the limits of the white settlements. Doggedly, silently, the warriors gave up the chase, and the pursued were in a short time safely landed at Rock Island.

"I have these relations from the sons of Col. Gratiot—

Col. Charles H. Gratiot, of Gratiot, Wis., and Lieut.-Col. Edward H. Gratiot, of Platteville, Wis., who had often heard their father recount the story of his dangerous mission. It was the Prophet who, on this occasion, protected from violence and probably saved the life of Col. Gratiot, who was the honored father of Mrs. Washburne. In this fact so interesting to me, I am sure all the people of Whiteside County will readily see another reason for my interest in the Prophet."

But Col. Gratiot became better known to the public through his successful efforts in rescuing two young girls from a horrible captivity. The most shocking event during all the Black Hawk War, and one which bathed in tears every mother in the Northwest, was the cold-blooded murder of the Hall family on Indian Creek, in what is now La Salle County, Illinois. A party of Sac and Fox and Potawatomie Indians suddenly appeared at the peaceful residence of Mr. Hall, May 21,[1] 1832; without warning, they first killed a neighbor who was at the house, and then inhumanly murdered and mutilated Mr. and Mrs. Hall, and all the family then at home, except two young girls, who were taken prisoners, and carried off by the Indians. This event everywhere awakened a sense of horror, and the probable fate of these two young girls wrung all hearts with anguish. They were dragged through the country by the Indians, enduring every privation, undergoing the most terrible hardships in going from Indian Creek to the Blue Mounds in Wisconsin. The knowledge of the affair coming to Gen. Dodge, he at once saw that the only way to rescue these unfortunate young girls was through the Winnebagoes, influenced thereto by their agent, Col. Gratiot. The Colonel immediately addressed himself to some of the most prominent chiefs of the Winnebagoes, for the purpose of obtaining their good offices, in effecting the release of the two young prisoners. They could not refuse the request of their "father," Col. Gratiot; and armed with full authority and

[1] Wakefield's *History of the Black Hawk War* says, "about the 20th of May;" but the narrative of the Hall girls fixes the date as the 21st of that month. L. C. D.

ample means to ransom the prisoners, their rescue was effected, after six days of detention, and the most frightful maltreatment. But to the credit of these murderous and cruel Indians, it can be said that during all the time they held the girls as prisoners, there was never offered the least affront to their modesty. The rescue occasioned universal joy. The liberated girls were first taken to Gratiot's Grove, where they received every kindness and attention from the kind-hearted ladies of the settlement.[1]

The great probity of Col. Gratiot's character made his advice and suggestions sought for on every side. He had the fullest confidence and friendship of Gen. Dodge, who constantly consulted with him. At the request of the General, Col. Gratiot had induced the Winnebagoes to meet in council at the head of the Four Lakes, on the 25th of May, 1832. And there followed a long "talk" to the Indians by Gen. Dodge, who commenced by saying: "My friends, Mr. Gratiot, your father, and myself have met to talk with you. Having identified us both as your friends in making a sale of your country to the United States, you will not suspect us of deceiving you.[2] Gen. Dodge was not satisfied by this talk of the good faith of the Winnebagoes, and shortly thereafter he again sent for Col. Gratiot, arrested three of the principal chiefs as hostages, and sent them to Gratiot's Grove. That point being the residence of Col. Gratiot, and included in hostile territory, it became a place of much importance. A stockade was built there for the protection of the white settlers.

After the close of the Black Hawk War, Col. Gratiot gradually closed up his business of mining and smelting, and prepared to open up a large farm adjoining the "Grove." Erecting a house on a beautiful site, built in the French fashion, with its long and wide galleries and its many ample rooms, and no one who ever visited it up to the time it was consumed by fire, in 1853, can ever forget its hospitable shelter.

[1] The names of those girls were Rachel and Sylvia Hall. The former was fifteen and the latter seventeen years old when taken prisoners.

[2] Smith's *Hist. Wisconsin*, 1, 416, 417.

Having passed through many dangers and tribulations, Col. Gratiot now found himself in a situation to settle down to enjoy life in the bosom of his family, and to him, the dearest spot on earth. But, alas! there was to be no future full of bright hopes for long days of happiness. In the spring of 1836, he went to Washington, partly on business and partly on a visit to his brother, Gen. Charles Gratiot, then chief of the corps of engineers of the United States army.

It was at this time that the original of the portrait here presented was painted by Harding. He was then forty-seven years old, and in all the vigor and flush of his middle life. Mingling in the fashionable circles of Washington, people were amazed to find a man who had spent nearly his whole life on the frontier, and with the Indians, the highest type of a gentleman, who, with his French vivacity and cordial manner, attached himself to all with whom he met.

While at Washington, Col. Gratiot contracted a sudden and severe cold, but in his hurry to reach his home he left Washington before he was really able to travel. By the time he had reached Baltimore he was too unwell to proceed farther, and stopped at Barnum's Hotel, where he grew rapidly worse, until he died, April 27, 1836. Though away from his family, he had every attention which care and affection could suggest. He was surrounded during his illness by his brother, Gen. Gratiot, Chief Justice Taney, of the supreme court of the United States, Gen. George W. Jones, delegate in Congress from Michigan Territory, Capt. Henry A. Thompson, United States army, and others.

The death of Col. Gratiot created a profound impression throughout all the lead-mining districts, for no man was better or more favorably known, nor more highly esteemed than he was. A large meeting was held in Galena to express the sense of the public loss, and to pay tribute to the character of the deceased. Hon. John Turney was chairman of the committee who made the report, and Hon. Joseph P. Hoge, afterward a member of Congress from the Galena district, was secretary of the meeting.

The following is the report of Judge Turney, adopted by the meeting:

"Gentlemen—Your committee beg leave to report: The friend and fellow-citizen, whose melancholy fate has assembled us together, and for whose worth we would offer our tribute of respect, has been long and intimately known in this country, and only known to be most warmly esteemed. The name of Henry Gratiot, Esq., is identified with the earliest settlement of the extreme Northwest. The probity and integrity of his character, no less than his hospitality, benevolence, and charity, endeared him to the hearts of all who knew him. The death of the good man is a bereavement to the whole community; but to those connected with the deceased by ties of blood, the loss is irreparable."

Col. Gratiot left eight children, four sons and four daughters. Two of the sons have died in Wisconsin within the last three years: Lieut.-Col. Edward H. Gratiot, late a paymaster in the United States army, at Platteville, and Charles H. Gratiot, at Gratiot, La Fayette County. Another, Stephen H. Gratiot died in Washington, in 1864. The only remaining son, Henry Gratiot, resides in the state of California. Of the four daughters, Mrs. Washburne is the only one now living.

The death of no man throughout the lead mines was ever more generally and sincerely regretted than was that of Col. Gratiot. By none was his death more sincerely mourned than by the poor and straggling Winnebagoes who lingered in the country. For many years after the marriage of Mrs. Washburne, and up to 1860, many of the surviving members of the tribe would come almost annually to visit her at her home in Galena, to pay a tribute of respect and affection to the memory of her father. Bringing their blankets with them, they would sometimes remain for several days, sleeping on the floor of her parlors. To those poor, wandering, dispirited, and squalid Indians—men literally without a country—the latch-string was always out, and they were ever hospitably received and entertained. They always departed satisfied, and with their best wishes for the happi-

ness and well-being of the daughter of their best friend, and all her family.

It can but be with conflicting emotions that you contemplate the destiny that has overtaken the original possessors of your soil. They have passed away; their council-fires have been extinguished, and their monuments torn down.

> "Ill-fated race, thy tribes have one by one
> Sunk to their rest beneath the setting sun,
> Just like the bubbles which the ocean bore,
> The waves swept o'er them, they are seen no more."

Gentlemen of the Society, I have thus endeavored to give you a sketch, imperfect as it is, of one of the pioneers of Wisconsin. It only remains for me, formally, in the name of Mrs. Washburne, to present to your Society the portrait of her father, Henry Gratiot.

Prof. J. B. Parkinson, in behalf of the Society, gratefully accepted the gift of the excellent portrait of one of Wisconsin's early and meritorious pioneers; and, raised in the lead region, he was able to add his testimony to the worth of this distinguished man.

"Col. Gratiot was a thorough-going business man, and not a few of the 'old settlers' of that region, as I personally know, have had reason to be grateful to him for the enterprises he has set on foot. His versatility of business talent and power of adaptation were remarkable. It is of record that he was miner, smelter, farmer, merchant, mill-builder, and at each successful. It is worthy of note, that one of the first grist-mills in Wisconsin, and the very first within the present county of La Fayette, was constructed by Col. Gratiot as early as 1828–29, and the little buhrs that were put into it were imported from France by way of New Orleans and Galena. We should not forget the energy here shown was like in kind, and in view of the circumstances, scarcely inferior in degree, to that displayed a half century later in the erection of those huge structures at the Falls of St. Anthony, whose products reach to the ends of the

earth. It is also worthy of mention that the first school taught in that portion of the State was organized by Col. Gratiot nearly sixty years ago, and that the first teacher employed, Miss Beulah Lamb, afterwards Mrs. George Schellenger, still lives near the little village of Wiota, and has witnessed the development from these small beginnings, of our present excellent school system, in which the State takes just pride."

Gen. David Atwood, in presenting the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, spoke in appropriate terms of the wonderful growth of the country, and of the indebtedness of the present generation to such hardy, farseeing men as Col. Gratiot, for this great prosperity; and of the pleasure of the Historical Society that the daughter and granddaughter of this noble pioneer, and of the eminent statesman who had just pronounced the admirable address on Col. Gratiot, are present on this interesting occasion:

Resolved, That in the presentation to the Wisconsin Historical Society, by Mrs. E. B. Washburne, of an elegant portrait of her late honored father, Col. Henry Gratiot, one of the earliest and most highly respected pioneers of Wisconsin, she has performed a graceful and generous act, that is highly appreciated by the Society; that the interesting and eloquent manner in which the presentation was made by Hon. E. B. Washburne, and the felicitous terms in which he referred to the life and character of Col. Gratiot, are fitting accompaniments of the noble generosity of the donor; and that the sincere and cordial thanks of the members of the Wisconsin Historical Society be, and they are hereby tendered to Mrs. Washburne for her valuable contribution to the art gallery, and to Mr. Washburne for his able contribution to the biographical literature of the Society.

Resolved, That the Hon. E. B. Washburne be, and he hereby is, respectfully requested to furnish to this Society, for publication, a copy of his admirable address on the life and character of Col. Henry Gratiot, delivered this evening.

Adéle De P. Gratiot's Narrative

Mrs. Adéle Maria Antoinette Gratiot *née* De Perdreauville, was born Oct. 25, 1802, in La Maillerage, near Rouen, France. She was the daughter of René Alphonse de David, de Perdreauville. Her interesting narrative, with what Hon. E. B. Washburne says of her, gives the reader a good idea of this most estimable lady—a worthy pioneer of Western Wisconsin. She died in Washington, Arkansas, December 4, 1873.

Her husband, Jean Pierre Bugnion Gratiot—often referred to as Bion Gratiot—was born in St. Louis, February 18, 1799. He was well educated, and a man of enterprise and generous impulses. As early as 1824, he spent a year in New Mexico, in search of gold mines, without finding the precious metal in sufficient quantities for profitable mining. In 1825, with his brother, Henry Gratiot, he located in the lead region of Southwestern Wisconsin, and was long engaged in lead mining. During the Black Hawk War, he raised a party of men, principally his own employés, did good service, and received the thanks of Gen. Atkinson. These services are referred to in the *Illustrated Hist. of Lafayette Co., Wis.*, p. 472; and by Col. D. M. Parkinson, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 338.

In 1841, he removed to the lead region of Missouri, and located in Washington County, which he frequently represented in the legislature of that State. He was a member at the time of his death, which occurred while temporarily at St. Louis, April 7, 1871, in his seventy-third year. He was a man of much enterprise and usefulness in his day, of fine intelligence, and proverbial for his kindness and hospitality. L. C. D.

Mrs. Gratiot's Narrative

"The residents of Galena," says the Galena *Gazette*, May 2, 1879, "and the Upper Mississippi lead mines prior to 1841, will remember John P. B. Gratiot, one of the prominent early settlers. He was the brother of the late Col. Henry Gratiot, so well and honorably known in the Northwest. Mr. J. P. B. Gratiot died several years since while a member of the Legislature of Missouri. His wife was a Miss Perdreauville, a French lady of noble family, and highly educated and accomplished. Her father filled several high positions under the first Napoleon, and was thrown on the

shores of the United States after the political storms of 1814. Mrs. Gratiot died some few years ago at Washington, Arkansas, the residence of her daughter, the widow of Major B. F. Hempstead, formerly of Galena, and the nephew of the late Charles S. Hempstead, Esq., of this city.

"A short time before her death, Mrs. Gratiot, at the request of her niece, Mrs. Adéle Gratiot Washburne, wife of the Hon. E. B. Washburne, then minister to France, jotted down some of the recollections of her life, giving somewhat of her own history and that of her family, so distinguished on both sides.

"We are fortunate in having this document in our possession, and are permitted to make it public. The narrative, all in the elegant handwriting of Mrs. Gratiot, when more than seventy years of age, is remarkable for its clearness of style and accuracy of statement, evincing a refined education and superior intelligence. We are certain that our readers will find these reminiscences of great interest. It forms an important chapter in the early history of the lead mining region."

Mrs. Gratiot, after alluding to her father's coming to the United States in 1815, leaving France on account of the political troubles that were convulsing the country, says:

"After sojourning for three years in different parts of the Eastern States, my father met in Philadelphia, one of the leading merchants of St. Louis, Mr. Bernard Pratte, and made up his mind to remove to the West, and settle his young family on a farm. He was a man highly cultivated, and entirely unfit to follow the plough. After two years of painful efforts, he finally abandoned the farm and removed to New Orleans, where he edited the New Orleans *Bee*, a French paper, for several years, and with much success.

I was married in 1819, at the age of seventeen, to J. P. B. Gratiot, the third son of Mr. Charles Gratiot, of St. Louis.

Mr. Charles Gratiot was a native of Lausanne, Switzerland, and descended from a noble Huguenot family of La Rochelle, France, that fled from the persecution which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At twelve years of age he was sent to England, where his only sister,

who was married, resided, to receive an English education. At the age of eighteen, he was sent for by an uncle, Mr. Bernard, his mother's brother, a very wealthy man in Montreal, Canada. After remaining a short time with him, he joined the Fur Company of the Northwest.

After several years of hardships and hazardous adventures, Mr. Gratiot came to St. Louis, then a very small French settlement. He had education, energy, and enterprise, made a considerable fortune, and married Miss Victoria Chouteau, a lady of great beauty and eminent virtues. She was the youngest of the three sisters of Messrs. Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, the founders of St. Louis, with their friend and protector, the Marquis Pierre Ligueste de Laclede. Mr. Gratiot's house was the centre of hospitality. His perfect knowledge of the English language, almost unknown in that part of the country, brought to him all strangers coming to St. Louis for either business or pleasure. During the war of the Revolution, Mr. Gratiot was an earnest patriot, and prominent for the assistance he furnished the American troops, destitute of money and provisions. He furnished them to the amount of his available fortune. For this he incurred the displeasure of the English government, having resided so long in their dominions, he was considered an English subject and a traitor.

A large reward was offered for his head. While on a visit to Illinois on business, he was kidnapped by a party of hostile Indians and hurried toward the English lines, where he would most certainly have been hung. But he had many friends among the neighboring tribes. A famous chief of the "Saukies," named Pontiac and known by the French as the "Grand Sauteur," on account of his lofty stature, started in pursuit with a few chosen braves, and rescued him within two days of the frontier, when he had lost all hopes of his life.* The British could not take him, but took their revenge by confiscating to the crown, all the estate of his

* Mrs. Gratiot has blended her recollections. It was during the Revolutionary War that the elder Charles Gratiot furnished supplies to the American troops; and thus stirred up the ire of the British. When cap-

uncle, Mr. Bernard, which had been left to him, and which was very considerable. The State of Virginia, of which Illinois then formed a part, had large transactions with Mr. Gratiot, then residing in St. Louis, and had become indebted to him for more than a hundred thousand dollars for supplies, money advanced, etc. In part payment, Mr. Gratiot was obliged to take a large amount of land scrip, to be located in Kentucky, then almost a wilderness, and Louisville a mere military post. These lands upon which the scrip was located, were comparatively worthless, and by the burning of the land offices at Frankfort, Kentucky, and at Richmond, Virginia, simultaneously, the evidence of location was destroyed, and no title was ever obtained. After giving him the scrip, the State still owed Mr. Gratiot $18,000, and he employed James Monroe, afterwards president, to prosecute his claim, which, though proved and recognized, was never paid.

When we landed in St. Louis, in 1817, it was a small place, the population not exceeding fifteen hundred, and only four brick buildings. The two Messrs. Chouteau, Auguste and Pierre, had large stone houses with broad verandas, all around. Mr. Gratiot's was also a large stone house, with a wide gallery in front, and stood on Main street, on the corner of what is now Pine. All the rest were low houses of more or less respectable appearance, with large yards and gardens surrounded by picket fences. There were no pavements, no sidewalks, and the streets (there were but three improved) were muddy in the extreme. But it soon began to improve rapidly. If the town was not attractive, the situation was most beautiful, and the rolling country back of it, perfectly lovely. Who could have dreamed then of this Queen of the West. The population, composed principally of French residents, was of the most agreeable and hospitable type, many highly refined and intelligent people. I was then very young, and spoke the English language but imperfectly, and knew but

tured, he was rescued by Pecan, a noted Miami chief, as the Indian party was passing through his village with their captive. The famous Ottawa chief, Pontiac, had been dead some ten or twelve years. L. C. D.

few beyond the circle of my husband's relations. My mother-in-law was highly respected and accomplished, and I was among the frequent visitors to her house. I became acquainted with some remarkable persons of these early times: Col. Thomas H. Benton, then ascending the political ladder; Gen. William Clark, Mr. Edward Bates, the two Messrs. Gamble, Gen. William Rector, U. S. surveyor, Gen. W. H. Ashley, Edward Hempstead, first delegate in Congress from Missouri Territory, and brother of Charles S. Hempstead, of Galena, and some others.

As soon as Missouri was admitted into the Union as a State, emigrants began to pour in from all parts, principally from Virginia and Kentucky, bringing with them wealth and enterprise. Long trains of wagons would cross the ferry at the foot of Market street, nearly all making their way toward north Missouri, the richest lands in the State. One or two small steamers made their way to us during the season, from New Orleans or Louisville. On such occasions nearly the whole population of the town would run to the river bank to see the rare sight.

During the year 1825, discoveries of large lead mines had been made in the northern part of Illinois. My husband had just returned from a voyage to Santa Fé. After hearing the news, and consulting with his brother Henry, the two brothers made up their minds to go immediately, and try their chances in a new field of enterprise. About the middle of October of the same year, after fitting up a two-horse wagon with all necessary implements and supplies, with three hardy and trusty Canadians for assistants, they started for the long and arduous voyage; for after passing Peoria, itself a small outpost, the country lay an unbroken wilderness or prairie, camping at night in the forest or on the prairie, shooting a variety of game for their subsistence, broiling their meat, Indian fashion, by the camp-fire, they enjoyed the journey exceedingly. After crossing the Rock River, at Dixon's Ferry, they soon reached the new Eldorado. Nor were their expectations, in any way, disappointed. A number of miners were already on the spot. Their intention was to erect a smelting establishment. Capt. Comstock, Mr.

Moses Meeker, and Capt. Hardy had furnaces already in operation. Mr. Henry Gratiot and my husband first selected a place at the foot of the hill in a valley, at a distance of a mile from the river, afterwards occupied by Mr. William Hempstead. They worked diligently all winter notwithstanding the severity of the weather, erecting cabins and log furnaces, the primitive way of smelting. As soon as the river was free from ice, in the month of April, 1826, Mr. Henry Gratiot brought up his family.

I had spent the winter in New Orleans. My husband came for me, and I arrived at the mines on the 19th of June. When the boat landed, I was vainly looking for a town or village, but a few scattered log cabins were all that I could see; piles of lumber lay on the shore, promising new buildings. I was put in possession of a small cabin, standing where Capt. H. H. Gear afterwards built his residence. But although just from the city, all this looked much more like fun than hardships—we were young, and had bright prospects before us. Every one around us was sociable, hopeful, and in good spirits. The country was so vast that no jealousy could exist from the laborer to the capitalist and speculator. A large field was open to the enterprise of all.

The first insight I had in border society was on the Fourth of July celebration, of the same year. It was to occur at the old Harris place, below the portage, three miles from the town. It was the most curious medley that could be well imagined—only a fanciful pen could describe the scene. Several very polished persons, of course, were present; but it was the contrast that made it original: Capt. Comstock, Maj. Farnsworth, Dr. Newhall, Capt. Hardy, Mr. Meeker and others. Col. Strode delivered the oration. But of miners with uncut hair, red flannel shirts, and heavy boots drawn over their pants, there was a great number, all eager to dance and enjoy themselves to the worth of their money; but I must say to their praise, that they all behaved like gentlemen. The ladies were few: Mrs. David G. Bates and her two sisters (afterwards Mrs. Newhall and Mrs. Swan), Mrs. Lockwood, and Mrs. Henry, the wife of Capt. Henry, a government agent, with three or four miners' wives smoking

corncob pipes, completed the assembly. The Misses Harris were there, pretty little girls, the oldest I saw, about thirteen; the boys, seventeen and under.

About this time came down from Fort Snelling, a number of Swiss families who had emigrated to Lord Selkirk's settlement on the North Red River. After suffering for several years from starvation, and from the several overflows of the river, destroying their crops, and almost destruction from the half-breeds and fierce tribes surrounding, they at last made up their minds to leave in a body. They were industrious, honest people, and a great acquisition to a new country. Henry Gratiot and my husband secured the services of several families, among whom was Peter Rendesbacher, afterwards so celebrated for his pictures of Indians and other works of art. Also the Chetlains—one of the sons was afterwards a general in the Union army. There were also the Longets, Bricklers, and many others whose names I have forgotten.

Late in the same summer came a report that a number of Winnebago Indians had come to a beautiful prairie about fifteen miles north, and taken out a large quantity of lead ore. A man by the name of Shull went there to put up a shanty with the intention of prospecting for lead ore; but the Indians drove him off. During that summer they made complaints through their agent, and appeared much dissatisfied with the encroachments of the whites upon their territory. The two brothers, taking with them a half-breed woman named Catharine Mayotte, very popular with her tribe, proceeded immediately to the place, and proposed to pay a large amount to the Indians for the privilege of mining on that prairie. After much consultation, they consented to let them work for a large amount of goods and supplies, which were delivered within a week. These were the celebrated "diggings" of Gratiot's Grove, then called "Gratiot's Survey."

It was then thought advisable to commence the new establishment without delay. Miners were already flocking to the new discoveries; although late in the season the work advanced rapidly, cabins, store-houses and furnaces ap-

peared simultaneously. As my health was bad, I was sent back for the winter to St. Louis, in a keel-boat that had brought goods to the firm. My sister-in-law, Mrs. Henry Gratiot, was then left, most of the time alone, with her young family, her husband and her brother being necessarily absent at "Gratiot's Grove." But to the greatest gentleness and fortitude, Mrs. Gratiot joined the courage of a heroine, a most devoted wife, an affectionate mother and a kind friend, she was beloved and honored by all. I returned to Fevre River in May, 1827, Gratiot's Grove being now our home. Never in my wanderings had I beheld a more delightful prospect, the beautiful rolling prairie extending to the Blue Mounds, a distance of thirty miles, the magnificent grove, as yet untouched by the felling axe, forming a graceful frame for the lovely landscape. From the slope of the hill, you could see as far as the eye could reach, miners' shanties, and windlasses in activity. The store was furnishing tools and provisions to hundreds of miners. Three four-horse teams making regular trips to town every other day, could hardly supply the demand or transport the lead, smelted night and day.

Ours was a happy life—we were, it may be said, camping out. We made the most of it, we were full of life and enjoyment, we had many visitors, strangers as well as friends, all were welcome, we could offer a pallet and a meal under a shade of green boughs. Our families were intimately united, we lived within a stone's throw of each other; enjoyments, trials, privations were all in common. It was about the time that the name of "Sucker" was given to the Illinois folks, and it was from this circumstance: Every spring, when the grass was high enough to afford pasture for their teams, large numbers would come and do all the heavy hauling during the summer, over beautiful prairies furnishing all that they could desire. But at the first frost they would all disappear not to return until the next spring. Their habits of migration being exactly timed with that of a fish, called the "Sucker," which abounded in all the creeks and rivers, caused the people of the upper settlements to give that name to those of the lower counties. So came the

name of "Sucker." This pleasant life lasted until the month of August. Up to that time our dwellings had been completed and we were surrounded with many comforts, and in our light-heartedness never dreamed of the storm gathering over our heads.

I had claimed the privilege of entertaining our friends on the Fourth of July, when the table was set, and the family assembled. Ours were primitive accommodations. I was carrying a bowl of custard to the table. Mrs. Henry Gratiot was assisting me, carrying some thing, when we saw four tall Indians, with guns in hand, coming up to the house. I was so taken by surprise that the bowl fell from my hands, to the great dismay of the children. I ran in to apprise the gentlemen. The Indians gravely entered, and we were quite relieved when we saw our visitors stack their guns, and accept a share of our dinner, but all appetite and joyousness had fled. It was soon over. Catherine, the interpreter, was sent for. Our husbands remained in close interview with the Indians. They were friendly Winnebago chiefs, who came to tell us that, on account of the encroachments of the whites upon their territory, they could not restrain their young men, who were going to declare war. They did not want to hurt the "Chouteaus," as they called us; but they had best remove their women and children out of harm's way. The news spread like wild-fire, and all was terror and confusion; families were flocking to the Grove from the neighboring "diggings," preparations were making for defense, and a strong stockade was being built around the store and warehouse, which were advantageously situated for defense. On all sides could be heard the stroke of axes felling the trees. We made our preparations to leave with heavy hearts, leaving our husbands to the dangers of Indian warfare.

On the 26th, the teams drove up to take us away. We left our homes with many tears. My husband accompanied us as far as Galena, in the hope of obtaining arms, for the Grove was a place most exposed; but he pleaded in vain. They granted him only some ammunition. Some two weeks

after, some arms were procured from Prairie du Chien, a military post. We remained one week in town, waiting for a boat. The little place was crowded with families pouring in from all parts of the mines. The flat prairie between the bluff and the river was covered with wagons, the families camping in them; block-houses were erected on the hill, companies forming, drums beating, and Gen. Dodge was busily engaged in organizing troops, and creating order and confidence out of terror and confusion. One afternoon, while impatiently waiting for the steamer, men's voices were heard down the river—it seemed a regular chorus. Some cried in terror, "The Indians! the Indians!" The more intelligent declared they were not Indians, when, of a sudden, we all saw, gracefully turning the point, a large bark canoe, with six Canadians, paddles in hand, dressed in blue jackets, red sashes, feathers in their hats, and the United States flag flying in the breeze, and all singing the Canadian boat song. It was a beautiful sight. The boat landed in the midst of cheers, and Gen. Cass, then governor of Michigan Territory, stepped on shore.

Mr. Henry Gratiot remained in command of the stockade at the Grove. My husband formed a company of the most efficient men in his section, and well armed and well mounted, they joined Gen. Dodge's command.

The war was not of long duration. The Indians were soon reduced to submission. In October we were able to return home. But it was a great check to the prosperity of the country, and an immense loss to the smelters, they having made large advances to the miners, the two-thirds and more having fled in terror, never to return, at least to pay their debts. However, the next spring saw business revive, the block-house and stockade converted into cord-wood, and in the assurance of peace, all forgot their past trials. A treaty was held at Prairie du Chien. The Indians requested the presence of Mr. Henry Gratiot, who was a great favorite with them, and very efficient in their behalf, having their entire confidence. Being so well acquainted with their ways, he was subsequently appointed their agent, an office of more expense than profit to an honest man.

Our families enjoyed almost uninterrupted happiness and prosperity. The old days at the Grove can never be forgotten. Gay surprise parties in the winter would come to the Grove, with jingling sleigh-bells, to have a dance at either house. We in turn enjoyed pleasure parties in Galena until 1832, when the Black Hawk War came upon us almost as suddenly as the previous one. Both of our husbands were then in St. Louis, entirely unaware of any hostile demonstration. Mr. Henry Gratiot proposed returning home by land, driving a private carriage, taking with him, for company, our oldest son, then a lad of twelve years. Mr. J. P. B. Gratiot was to return by steamer.

On reaching Dixon, Mr. Henry Gratiot was startled by the news that the Indians had raised the tomahawk, and had cruelly murdered several families on the borders. He had then one hundred miles or more to travel alone in the hostile country; but he knew our families were exposed, and he pushed bravely on, regardless of danger, and reached home without accident. He found express orders to repair to the Winnebagoes immediately, to follow their movements, and to prevent any attempt on their part to join the hostile tribes. So without allowing himself any rest, he left us again. The news reached St. Louis, and my husband took the first boat up the river; but the boat and several others were pressed, at Rock Island, into the service of the government. The strength of the Indians was not well ascertained. Henry Gratiot had arrived at headquarters with the most reliable information that could be gathered from the other tribes. The general commanding sent an order to the hostile Indian chiefs to come for a parley under a flag of truce, naming a spot some fifteen miles up the Rock River, near to the place where the Indians were supposed to be encamped. Henry Gratiot and my husband were present at the interview.

Although the history of the Black Hawk War has been published, yet I do not know if the following incident was ever related in its true light: The general, the officers, two or three hundred troops, a piece of ordnance, and several favored lookers on, came up the river on a steamer to the

appointed place. It was a large flat prairie forming a semicircle, surrounded by steep bluffs, and a fine view up the river, opening out for more than a mile. Everybody left the boat and came ashore. The officers and the soldiers scattered in different groups, the arms were stacked, and the steam suffered to go entirely out. The assembly had been lounging and waiting for some two hours, when a most singular and majestic spectacle offered itself to view. Suddenly Rock River appeared covered with Indian warriors: sixty canoes, three abreast, each containing ten men, all armed, singing their war song. While officers and men were looking at the picturesque display, and the warriors disembarking, and forming under their respective leaders, orders were given and drums beat to arms; but the officers were astonished to perceive that while their attention had been directed toward the river, three hundred warriors on horseback, appearing as by magic from some passes in the bluffs, were completely surrounding them. Had the Indians entertained any treacherous design, the whole Federal party could have been made prisoners, for they were entirely off their guard, and the Indians three times their number; but they did not perceive their advantage, or did not mean any hostility. It was only for an instant—the men under arms, the band playing, the steam raising—things took a dignified and military aspect. But the manœuvering of the Indians was beautiful, and for a moment Black Hawk out-generaled Gen. Gaines.

Henry Gratiot was sent on a new mission, to release two young girls taken prisoners by the Sauks and Foxes, whose agent, Mr. Felix St. Vrain, had been murdered, and the undertaking was one of great danger. He was taken prisoner by the Indians, and we felt the greatest anxiety on his account. Two Winnebago chiefs undertook to negotiate for his release. They met with much opposition. They offered a large ransom for him and the girls. After two days' deliberation, he was liberated at midnight, with the two girls, and silently conducted to a canoe and paddled with great speed by the two friendly chiefs until daylight. It was all owing to his high standing with these savages that his ef-

forts were successful, and he was known to be the only person who could accomplish the task. These girls were the only survivors of a murdered family on Sugar River. I have forgotten their names.* During all this time we were at the Grove—a prey to much anxiety.

We could not hear from below, all the ascending boats being pressed into service. The land mail had been cut off several times, and we could hear nothing but floating rumors. Mrs. Henry Gratiot was composed, but I was terrified, and never thought my children and myself safe except under the shadow of her wings. At last my husband arrived, after four days' detention at Rock Island, seeing no prospect of passage on a boat, fitted up a canoe, and with four trusty Canadians paddled up the river in three days, nearly as fast as any steamer. It was a dangerous undertaking, the banks of the Mississippi swarming with hostile Indians. Mr. Gratiot immediately made every preparation for our removal to a place of security. Mrs. Henry Gratiot followed us to Galena, but she would not consent to leave the country until her husband was released from the hands of the Indians, which was effected soon after. Then followed another exodus, and a new period of trials and anxiety. Soon after the battle of Bad Axe was fought, and peace once more restored, we were allowed to return to our homes to gather up the scattered remnants of our household effects.

In 1833, the two brothers dissolved partnership. Henry, tired of the many losses to which they had been subjected by the two Indian wars, preferred farming to mining, with all its uncertainties. We then left the Grove where we had spent several happy years, and came to reside near Galena.

In 1834, Mr. Gratiot sent our eldest son to New York to be educated. Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, long a friend of both our families, gave him letters of introduction to his mother,

*Misses Sylvia and Rachel Hall were captured, not on Sugar River, but on Indian Creek, La Salle County, Illinois; they were not liberated, however, at the same time with Col. Gratiot. L. C. D.

Mrs. Alex. Hamilton. She treated him with the greatest kindness, and placed him in an excellent school of her own selection.

In February, 1836, my husband and his brother Henry, left together for the East, partly on business and also to pay a visit to their elder brother, Gen. Charles Gratiot, the chief of the Engineer Corps. Henry remained in Washington. After a week Mr. J. P. B. Gratiot proceeded to New York. While there he was introduced to Mrs. Hamilton. He was charmed with her cordial yet dignified manners. She spoke of coming the next year to the West, to pay a visit to her son. Mr. Gratiot made her promise to come to our house during her stay. This visit to Washington City, which had promised to be so pleasant, terminated in the death of Henry Gratiot, one of the best of men, deeply lamented by his family, and deeply regretted by all his friends, and all who knew him.

Mrs. Gen. Hamilton, the widow of Alex. Hamilton, her daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Holley, arrived in Galena on the first of June, 1837. She was on a visit to her youngest son, Col. William S. Hamilton, then living at Hamilton's Diggings, Wisconsin Territory. We had the pleasure to entertain them for several weeks. The souvenir of this lovely old lady stands among my dearest recollections. Pleasant and unaffected, she bore eighty-four years with graceful dignity. Remarkably active, every morning before breakfast she would take, unattended, a long walk in search of wild flowers; she would return with her hands full, her garments saturated with dew, but perfectly delighted with the blooming prize. Mrs. Holley remonstrated in vain; the amiable lady would shake her head and say, "It is a pleasure—I must take my morning walk." Mrs. Hamilton was fond of playing backgammon; every evening after tea, she had a game with my brother Leon.

Having expressed a desire to visit the Falls of St. Anthony, on the 24th of June, we left Galena for the Upper Mississippi on the steamboat "Burlington," Capt. Throckmorton. We had a very pleasant voyage. Mrs. Hamilton was

delighted with the scenery, which, I believe, has no parallel for beauty and loveliness. We arrived at Fort Snelling on the morning of the 29th at sunrise. At eight o'clock, Mrs. Hamilton received the visit of Col. Campbell and the officers stationed at the fort, in full uniform. At nine, the Colonel's barouche and a Jersey wagon drove down to the landing, to take her and party to the falls, a distance of eight miles. After a most delightful ride, stopping at every notable point, such as Lake Calhoun, the Falls of Minnehaha and St. Anthony, we returned to the fort at five in the afternoon. Col. Campbell and the officers were in waiting at the entrance, and he offered Mrs. Hamilton his arm to conduct her through the parade ground. A carpet had been spread, an arm-chair ready to receive her, the troops were under arms, we passed between two double rows of soldiers, and a very fine band was playing. After enjoying the military display for some time, the Colonel took his distinguished guest into the quarters where refreshments were prepared, and we were introduced to Mrs. Col. Campbell, a most agreeable and intelligent lady. At sunset Mrs. Hamilton was accompanied to the boat, after a day to us all, of unalloyed enjoyment. She received these marks of respect with the peculiar charm, ease and simplicity which belonged to her. She remained with us until the middle of September, leaving after her, recollections never to be effaced.

In 1841, circumstances led us to emigrate from the Galena lead mines to the lead-mining region of Missouri, and we left the land so dear to us, never more to return.

Early Wisconsin Exploration and Settlement

By James Sutherland

Whence originated the aborigines of this country, is now, and perhaps always will remain, a mystery to both the antiquarian and the historian. Some have endeavored to trace their origin to the Greeks, others to the Romans, others to the Egyptians, while yet others have tried to identify them with the lost tribes of Israel. It is contended, in the latter case, that having roamed eastward, through Asia to Behring Straits, these wandering Israelites crossed over to the northwestern portion of our continent, gradually spreading over the greater portions of both North and South America. More recently, plausible arguments have been presented, to prove that the aborigines of the country came from Japan, and also from China. From whatever source this antecedent race had its origin, it is fairly to be conjectured, that the natives inhabiting the middle portion of our continent, if not the whole of it, when Columbus and other early navigators arrived on its coasts, were their lineal descendants.

That this earlier race possessed a higher degree of intelligence and a better knowledge of the arts, than their descendants, is readily seen from the remains they have left behind them. These consist of earthworks, the traces of palisades, various-shaped mounds, some of which appear to have been designed for the purpose of defense, others for look-outs, game-drives, places of sepulture, while others, perhaps, were designed as places or objects of worship. In the wonderful remains at Aztalan, large quantities of rude brick were found, and in others, articles of pottery evidently used for culinary purposes. Their fortifications were constructed in various forms. Some of them were circular, others rectangular, others octagonal; but all of them seem to have been laid out in geometrical order, unless where the grounds

were not well adapted to that end. The sites chosen were places well suited for defensive operations, near some stream or lake, and generally in the vicinity of rich soils. Doubtless, in those earlier times, the different tribes or clans were in the habit of making war upon each other; and, therefore, found it necessary to have their towns fortified. The entrances to these defences were the most difficult of access from without, and the more easily defended from within. Altogether they exhibited a good degree of military science.

The mounds which abound so extensively throughout the Mississippi valley, have elicited a great amount of speculative controversy. Some of them are circular in form, others are in the shape of birds or quadrupeds; they are also of various sizes. That some of them were used for the purposes of sepulture may be inferred from the fact, that, on opening them, human bones have occasionally been found in great abundance. As others bear no traces of having been used for such purpose, it has been conjectured that they were constructed as monuments of victory in war, or as places for observing their religious rites. As the largest forest trees are found upon both the fortifications and the mounds, it is evident they are of ancient origin, and must have existed anterior to the discovery of the country by European navigators.

The principal Indian tribes inhabiting the country now known as Wisconsin, when first explored by the whites, were the Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Sacs, Foxes, and Chippewas. There were several other tribes having a partial residence upon our territory. By treaty the most of these have ceded their lands to the general government, and retired westward before the march of civilization, until, at present, we find but comparatively few remaining of these once powerful races and lords of the soil.

The Oneidas, in the northeastern part of the State, the Brothertowns, residing in Calumet County, and also the Stockbridges, who once resided in the same county, immigrated from the State of New York, having previously purchased their lands from the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, about the year 1822. They were induced to remove west-

ward, mainly through the influence of the Rev. Eleazer Williams, who has, since that time, claimed to be the Dauphin, or lawful heir to the crown of France, and who had previously been a missionary of the Episcopal church among the Oneidas for some five or six years. As these Indians were partially Christianized, Mr. Williams claimed, that, by intermingling with the wild men of the West, they might be the means of converting the latter to the principles of Christianity. It has, however, been asserted, that there had been chartered a powerful land company in the State of New York, whose pre-emption attached to the lands occupied by these bands, as soon as they might leave that State; and that this company operated in a quiet way upon Mr. Williams and the agents of the general government, to bring about their removal. They did not, however, all come to Wisconsin immediately after their new purchase, but immigrated at intervals for several successive years. After coming West, there was quite a lengthy negotiation among the parties, before they were peacefully and permanently settled.

In the year 1839, the Brothertowns sent a petition to Congress, to be recognized as citizens of the United States. Their request was granted. They, therefore, abolished their tribal government, and became subject to the laws of the United States and of Wisconsin. They exercise the elective franchise, by virtue of our State constitution, which confers that right upon "persons of Indian blood, who have once been declared, by law of Congress, to be citizens of the United States." In the year 1843, the Stockbridges were, also, by act of Congress, admitted to the rights of citizenship. They subsequently, however, became divided upon this subject, and a majority of them returned to their old form of government. On coming to their new homes, these two tribes settled in what has become Calumet County, though since that time some of the Stockbridges have removed farther to the north. They built comfortable homes, and erected saw and grist-mills. It is claimed by the Brothertowns that they built the first steamboat which ever plied upon Lake Winnebago, called by them the "Manchester."

In the year 1838, the Oneidas, acting under the advice of their missionary, Rev. Solomon Davis, resolved to sell a portion of their lands, for the purpose of obtaining money with which to make some needed improvements on their domain; and, for this purpose, sent Mr. Davis with some of their chiefs, to Washington. A treaty was accordingly signed, which was ratified by the United States senate. By the terms of this treaty, they sold to the United States all their lands, except a piece situated on Duck Creek near Green Bay. These Indians have never been declared by act of Congress, to be citizens of the United States, and are not, therefore, entitled to the rights of State citizenship. They maintain their own form of government.

The Indians now residing in the State of Wisconsin, are the following:

Several bands of the Chippeways, who are a part of the orignal and warlike tribe better known as Ojibwas, whose territory originally extended along the shores of Lakes Huron, Superior, and the northern shore of Lake Michigan, and as far west as the Mississippi River. They number something over 1,200.

There are about the same number of Menomonees, who have a reservation mainly in Shawano County, of some 230,000 acres. A considerable portion of the Menomonees have made substantial advancements in civilization, and are engaged in the pursuits of agriculture. That portion of the Stockbridges who separated from their brethren in Calumet County, and whose numbers are now less than 300, are located on a reservation near the Menomonees.

The Oneidas number some 1,500, and have their reservation of over 60,000 acres, located near Green Bay. They are also engaged mainly in the cultivation of the soil. There are also some stray bands of the Winnebagoes and Pottowatamies, numbering nearly 1,000, who did not remove with their respective tribes west of the Mississippi, or who returned soon after their removal, and who are now scattered through the central and northern portions of the State. They subsist mainly by cultivating small patches of ground, and by hunting and fishing.

All not admitted to citizenship, excepting the roving bands, have their tribal governments. Of the 300,000 Indians now inhabiting the states and territories of the United States, only about 5,000 of them make their homes within the State of Wisconsin.

When the Europeans first landed on the Western continent, the character of the Indian was far different from what it is at the present time. Then he was temperate, strong, and brave. He walked with majestic mien—was proud, bold and independent. Now, we find him weak, deceitful, intemperate, and filthy. All the once noble characteristics of his soul seem to have vanished by contact with the vices which have followed the train of civilization. The governments then existing among the various tribes, were patriarchal in character. At a remote period, each tribe must have been few in numbers, forming no more than a family or clan. Some one from age, superiority in wisdom or in war, or because of parental authority, was designated as chief. As but little progress was made in a written language, among any of them, what are called the "laws" of a tribe, may be considered as nothing more than customs and practices, which had been handed down by tradition. These became sacred and binding, like the common law among civilized nations from long usage. There were, in some instances, several clans existing among the same general tribe or nation, whose principal or leader was also denominated a sachem or chief. Hence we account for the fact, that several persons in the same tribe bear the title of "chief." These minor chiefs, however, held only subordinate positions. Indeed, the leading chief, in time of peace, was not invested with any extraordinary powers. All matters of importance had to be settled by the tribe, in general council. When a chief died, his position was claimed, as a general rule, by his son, or some kinsman, as a hereditary right; but oftener, perhaps, the succession was in the female line. In some instances, when this right fell to one who was judged unworthy to possess it, the tribe chose their own chiefs. As instances of this kind; Brant of the Mo-

hawks, and Tomah of the Menomonees, were placed in that position, for their superior wisdom and valor.

All of the tribes had some kind of religion. They generally believed in a God, whom they called the Manitou or "Great Spirit." Some of them believed in the existence of inferior deities. They also entertained some ideas of a future state of existence. Their heaven, however, was not like that of the enlightened Christian, spiritual and holy; but it was a repetition of their earthly existence, where game and all earthly comforts existed in great plenty. Perhaps the Indians' views and hopes of the future were never more beautifully expressed than in the oft-repeated stanzas of Pope's *Essay on Man:*

"Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind.
His soul, proud science, never taught to stray,
Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
Yet, simple nature to his hope has given,
Behind the cloud-capped hill, an humbler heaven.
Some safer world, in depth of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, no Christian thirsts for gold.
To be, contents his natural desire—
He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire—
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company."

The earliest civilized explorers of the country now known as Wisconsin, were either immigrants from France, or the descendants of the French, who had originally settled in Canada. They did not come among the natives like the Spanish adventurers, who first explored Mexico and Peru, as plunderers and murderers. They came rather as brethren, professing to teach the arts of peace, and the way of a higher life. They were generally of that order of the Catholic church called Jesuits, whose office is the reverse of that of monks and friars; for while these latter seclude themselves from the world, holding little or no intercourse with it, the Jesuit goes out and mingles with his kind, for the

purpose of extending the dominion of the Pope, and strengthening the church he holds most dear.

Jean Nicolet was the explorer to whom history ascribes the honor of first visiting the territory now known as Wisconsin. He had emigrated from France to Canada, as early as the year 1618. Here his associations were mainly with the natives. He learned their languages, studied their manners and customs, and so far adopted their habits of life, the better to ingratiate himself into their confidence, that he almost became an Indian himself, all which well-fitted him to become a useful interpreter. He was honored by his government as its agent in negotiating all the treaties made in that region with the Indians during that early period. In his intercourse with those who came from the Far West and Southwest, he obtained a faint idea of the great inland seas and rivers. After establishing the mission at Sault Ste. Marie, between Lakes Huron and Superior, he determined on a voyage to the country of which he had heard; and accordingly passed through the straits of Mackinaw, whence he proceeded around the northern and western shores of Lake Michigan, until he entered Green Bay.

This was the year 1634,* only four years after the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. Here Nicolet held a council with some four or five thousand warriors, who assembled to see the strange white man, who had ventured upon their far-distant territory. They informed him further about the great river of the West, and gave him a description of the route thither. He therefore determined upon a yet further voyage of discovery. After leaving Green Bay he passed up the Fox River to the villages of the Mascoutins; but, wearying of his journey, or from some other cause, he did not reach the Wisconsin, much less descend any portion of it, but returned to Green Bay, and thence to Quebec. In the year 1642, while on a mission to deliver one of his countrymen, who had fallen a prisoner into the hands of the Indians, his canoe was upset in a stream, and he drowned. Thus perished the noble and adventurous Nicolet,

* *Wis. Hist. Coll's.*, viii, p. 188 *et seq.;* Sulte's *Mélanges;* Butterfield's *Nicolet.*

who was the first civilized explorer of the territory which makes a part of the present State of Wisconsin.

The next similar adventurer upon our soil was Father Ménard, a French Catholic missionary, who had been laboring to the eastward among the Hurons, for many years. He established, in the year 1660, a mission on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior, at a place called La Pointe. He was far advanced in life, at this time, and it is stated that he soon after perished in the Menomonee River, which forms the northeastern boundary of the State.

Claude Allouez was the first of the Jesuit missionaries who explored extensively the shores of Lake Michigan. He came to Green Bay in the year 1669. The next Spring he passed up the Fox River, then part way down the Wisconsin, when he also returned to Green Bay. This was some thirty-five years after Nicolet's abortive effort to reach the Wisconsin, and the Great Father of Waters. He subsequently established a mission among the Illinois Indians, which was at length broken up, and the remainder of his history is clouded in obscurity.

On the 13th of May, 1673, Father James Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and Jolliet, an enterprising fur-trader, a resident of Quebec, accompanied by five other persons, left the mission on the St. Mary's River, in two birch-bark canoes. They passed up through the straits of Mackinaw, and coasted around the shores of Lake Michigan, until they entered Green Bay. They then passed up the Bay until they came to the Fox River. Journeying up that stream some distance, they came to an Indian village. Here they held a consultation with these villagers, and acquainted them with the objects of their voyage, which were to pass on to the great river of the West, of which they had heard, and to prepare the way for the introduction of civilization, and the religion which they professed. They requested that guides might accompany them a part of the way, which was readily granted. On the 10th of June, of the same year, they left this Indian village, in their canoes, with their two guides, and renewed their journey up the river. After passing through Lake Winnebago and the upper Fox River,

they came to the portage between it and the Wisconsin, over which they carried their canoes, when their Indian guides returned to their homes. Here these strong-hearted men, nothing daunted by the uncertainties and dangers which lay before them, launched their canoes upon the lonely waters of the Wisconsin. They passed with the current down to its entrance into the Mississippi.

One great object of their journey was now accomplished. They then descended the Great River to within a few hundred miles of the Gulf of Mexico, when they concluded to retrace their route, and paddled up that turbulent stream to the Illinois, which they ascended, and probably the Des Plains, crossing over to the Chicago, and down that watercourse to Lake Michigan, and thence to Green Bay. Here Jolliet separated from Marquette, and embarked for Canada. Before reaching his destination, his canoe was upset in a storm, when he lost all his papers containing a narrative of his voyage. He barely escaped with his life, and subsequently dictated from memory a concise account of his adventures. It is, therefore, mainly to the journal of Marquette, as published in France, that we are indebted for a full account of this first great journey through the territory of Wisconsin, and upon the Mississippi River. This faithful missionary, after preaching to various tribes for some two years subsequent to his great voyage, desired one day of his companions to be left alone for prayer. And going from them a short distance, he was soon after found dead. His remains have until within a few years, supposed to have been interred near the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, on the bank of a river which yet bears the name Marquette; but it is now quite apparent that Marquette died some seventy miles farther north, a little below what is known as Sleeping Bear Point, in Leelenaw County, Michigan, in May, 1675; and the next Spring, his remains were removed by a band of Indians to the church at Point St. Ignace, opposite the Island of Mackinaw. Researches made in October, 1877, were successful in discovering at that place the remains of the great explorer, and early missionary of the Northwest.

In the year 1679, Robert De La Salle, a French Jesuit, who

had left his native country in early life, and sought a home in New France, built upon the upper part of the Niagara River a vessel of some sixty tons burden, which he called the "Griffin." It was doubtless the first considerable craft which sailed upon the Upper Lakes. On the seventh of August of that year, the vessel was launched, and her sails spread to the breeze. Passing up through the great chain of lakes and rivers, and having erected a trading-house at Mackinaw, we at length find him casting anchor at the village of Green Bay. Here he opened up a trade with the natives; and having loaded his vessel with furs and peltries, he dispatched her, under command of his crew, back to Canada.

With La Salle was Louis Hennepin. The spirit of enterprise prompted these bold explorers to coast the western shore of Lake Michigan, to where South Bend is now located; and passing over the portage of the Kankakee, they descended that stream and the Illinois to Peoria Lake, where La Salle erected a fort, and dispatched Hennepin with a single companion on a voyage of discovery to the Upper Mississippi. Meanwhile La Salle revisited Green Bay, and then made his adventurous descent of the Mississippi. He eventually lost his life in an attempt to reach the El Dorado in Mexico, in March, 1687.

Hennepin was more fortunate. He had continued his voyage up the Mississippi, to the great falls, which he named St. Anthony, by which they have ever since been known. Here he and his companion were captured by the Sioux Indians, and detained as prisoners for a few months. After their release, they returned to Canada, *via* the Mississippi, the Wisconsin and the Fox rivers, and the lakes. From the conflicting statements given by him of his journey, his exaggerated account of the height of the falls of St. Anthony, which he stated was from fifty to sixty feet, and from his efforts to rob La Salle of the laurels he had won as an explorer, we are led to the conclusion that he was not possessed of as much veracity and integrity as the Jesuit adventurers generally. However, much honor justly at-

taches to his name, as an early and intrepid explorer of the wilds of the West.

Let us now advert, very briefly, to the wars which occurred between the English colonists, on the one side, and the French and Indians on the other. Though these conflicts at arms were in the eastern portion of our country, yet as our territory was partly the inciting cause, it is proper in this connection to make some mention of them. The English colonists held possession of all the country along the Atlantic coast, and as far west as the Alleghany mountains. They claimed generally a right, by virtue of their charters, to all the country west to the Pacific Ocean. The French had taken possession of the country along the borders of the St. Lawrence River, and the great chain of lakes, and had also established various settlements and trading-posts throughout the Mississippi valley, and they in turn, claimed the country by virtue of their discoveries. It was evident from this conflict of claims, that a clash of arms would ultimately ensue. Frequent wars broke out across the ocean, between England and France, during the latter part of the 16th century, and much of the 17th. The colonists very naturally took sides with their respective parent countries, and thus the spirit of war was kindled in the New World. When the conflict was once commenced here, the parent countries sided with their respective colonies, and furnished material aid for carrying it on. The English colonists, with the aid of the mother region, were finally victorious; and our territory, as well as all others which had been held by the French in this region, fell to the English, and the former lost all claims to the country ever after. The martial spirit awakened, and the partial union effected for prosecuting these wars, doubtless had much to do in leading the colonies subsequently to declare their independence of the mother country.

A brief reference will now be made to a few of the earliest permanent white settlers of Wisconsin. About the year 1745, Augustin de Langlade, a native of France, but who in early life had taken up his abode in Canada, and

become an Indian trader, with his son Charles—the first born by his marriage with an Indian woman. Accompanied by a few others, the Langlades left the settlement which had been formed at Mackinaw, and effected a lodgment at Green Bay. They located upon the southeast side of Fox River, just above the present site of the city of Green Bay. Here they constructed homes, and are generally regarded as the first permanent white settlers in the country.

Charles de Langlade took an active part in the war between the French and English colonies. He marched at the head of several bands of warriors of various tribes, in the Northwest, accompanied by several distinguished chiefs—among those who joined him on the way was the noted Pontiac—to aid the French at Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh. It is claimed that he was one of the principal commanders in the battle which resulted in the defeat and death of General Braddock. He was also at the battle of Quebec, in the year 1759, when the city fell into the possession of the English; and took part in several other engagements during the French and English wars. When the country passed into the possession of the British, he engaged in their service, and sided against the Americans in the war of the Revolution. He lived to an advanced age, and boasted of having been in ninety-nine battles and skirmishes, regretting that he could not fight one more to round out the number to an even hundred.

From the commencement of the permanent settlement in Green Bay, in 1745, up to 1785, a period of forty years, there was but little increase in the number of its permanent settlers, as at that time there were not in all more than six or seven families residing there, which, with the persons in their employ, amounted in all to about fifty individuals. From the year 1791, up to the year 1812, several other settlers, principally from Canada, took up their residence there, making the number of families, at this latter date, about thirty, with a population of some two hundred and fifty souls.

Among the inhabitants of Green Bay, at this time, was the rather notorious Charles Reaume, who subsequently be-

came known as Judge Reaume. This legal title was acquired from having been commissioned, in the year 1808, a justice of the peace, by General Harrison, then governor of the Northwest Territory. He was a native of Canada, and had received in early life more than an ordinary education for that day. He subsequently engaged in the mercantile business; but, being unfortunate in that pursuit, he abandoned his early home and friends, and sought a refuge in less civilized society. He was a proud, pompous man, who generally managed, by fair means or foul, to live as well as the country could afford. A red coat, which he wore, to distinguish himself from the more common citizen, may now be seen in the cabinet of the State Historical Society at Madison. A variety of anecdotes are related in the earlier volumes of this Society, of the queer modes of practice in his court, and of his quaint judicial decisions. He was the first commissioned civil officer in Green Bay, and in the country which at present makes up the State of Wisconsin. Though his commission was never renewed, he continued to act under it, until the organization of Brown County, by the Territorial legislature of Michigan, in the year 1818; a period of ten or eleven years. His library did not contain even so much as the statutes of the Territory. It is not known that he ever kept docket. After the organization of Brown County, which embraced about one-half of Michigan Territory west of Lake Michigan, Judge Reaume sold his possessions near Green Bay, and settled about ten miles above, on the river, where he lived until the year 1822, when he died at the age of some sixty-five or seventy years.

Among others who early settled at this place, may be mentioned Pierre Grignon, a native of Montreal, who married for his second wife, a daughter of Charles de Langlade. Green Bay was his home, and the headquarters for his business operations. He had several other trading-posts or agencies for trafficking with the Indians. He was an intelligent and successful business man.

Augustin Grignon, who resided for many years on his farm, on the northern shore of Fox River, a few miles above the city of Oshkosh, in Winnebago County, was one of his

sons. He is also represented as an intelligent and worthy citizen, though of mixed French and Indian blood. In his narrative, obtained by the corresponding Secretary of our State Historical Society, a large amount of valuable history of the early times in Wisconsin has been preserved from oblivion. Augustin Grignon died in the year 1860, at the age of about eighty years.

One early event in the history of Wisconsin deserves particular mention. In the year 1761, Lieutenant James Gorrell, attended by a body of soldiers in the British service, visited the country in and around Green Bay. This was near the close of the French and Indian wars against the British American colonies. His mission was to establish friendly relations between the Indians and traders, and the British government, which had come into the possession of the country. He made presents of powder and belts of wampum to the Indians; and assured them that he had not come to their homes as their enemy, but to preserve peace and order. The Indians, wherever he went, received him with kindness, and expressed their gratitude that their Great Father, the English king, was willing to pardon them for having lately taken up arms against him, in behalf of the French. They promised to treat the English traders well, who might come to their settlement; and expressed the hope that they would get goods much cheaper of them than they had of the French.

The English government continued thereafter to hold possession of the country now known as Wisconsin, until after the war of the American Revolution, when it fell into the possession of the government of the United States, though the transfer was not formally made until after Jay's treaty in the year 1795. During all those early times, Green Bay was a great emporium of trade between the Indians and the whites.

The United States government built Fort Howard, just across the river from Green Bay in the year 1816. It was shortly after, that Green Bay was visited by James Biddle, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who was a contractor to supply this and other military posts in the Northwest with

provisions. In a communication from him, some years ago, to our Historical Society, we gather something in relation to the country and its inhabitants at that period. The Winnebagoes occupied the region about Lake Winnebago, and the Menomonees around Green Bay. Tomah was then the chief of the latter tribe. He did not hold the chieftainship, as heretofore explained, by an hereditary right, but was appointed to that position for his superior sagacity and wisdom.

About the year 1811, Mr. Biddle states, the celebrated Indian chief, Tecumseh, visited the Menomonees for the purpose of enlisting them in the cause of the British against the Americans. For this object he went to the region of Green Bay, where he obtained a council, and hearing from Tomah and his people, whom he addressed in a manner as he best could. In the course of his speech, with true Indian eloquence, he pictured the glory as well as the certainty of success; in confirmation of which, he recapitulated to them his own hitherto prosperous career, the number of battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken from the heads of warrior foes. Tomah appeared sensible of the influence of such an address upon his people, and feared its consequences, for he was opposed to leading them into a war. His reply was in a tone to allay the feeling produced by the speech of Tecumseh, in the course of which, he said to his warriors, that they had heard the words of Tecumseh, heard of the battles he had fought, of the enemies he had slain, and of the scalps he had taken. He then paused, and while the deepest silence reigned throughout the audience, he slowly lifted his hands, and with his eyes fixed upon them, and in a lower, but not less prouder tone, continued—"But it is my boast that these hands are unsullied by human blood!" He concluded his speech by saying that he was aware of the encroachments of the Americans upon the Indians; he thought, however, that their condition would be equally bad, if their country fell into the possession of the British. He counseled his tribe against embracing the proposition of Tecumseh; but finally said, that if any of his

young men wished to join the Shawanoe leader, they were at liberty to do so. His counsel for a period prevailed; but at length the intrigues and influences of Col. Robert Dickson, and other British traders, inveigled them into the War of 1812–15 against the Americans.

Passing over the early settlements at La Pointe, Prairie du Chien and Milwaukee, the Black Hawk War, our twelve years of Territorial pupilage, and thirty-six of full Statehood, we come down to the year 1885, with a population of a million and a half within our borders, ranking far above the average of the states of the Union in point of wealth, education and importance—made up of energetic and intelligent citizens from nearly all states and all regions—presenting a rich and prosperous country, all dotted over with thousands of beautiful churches, public and normal schools, colleges and seminaries of learning, with our magnificent State University, and our almost unequaled public libraries—all proclaiming a spendid triumph over the early savage state, and the advent of a permanent and higher civilization.

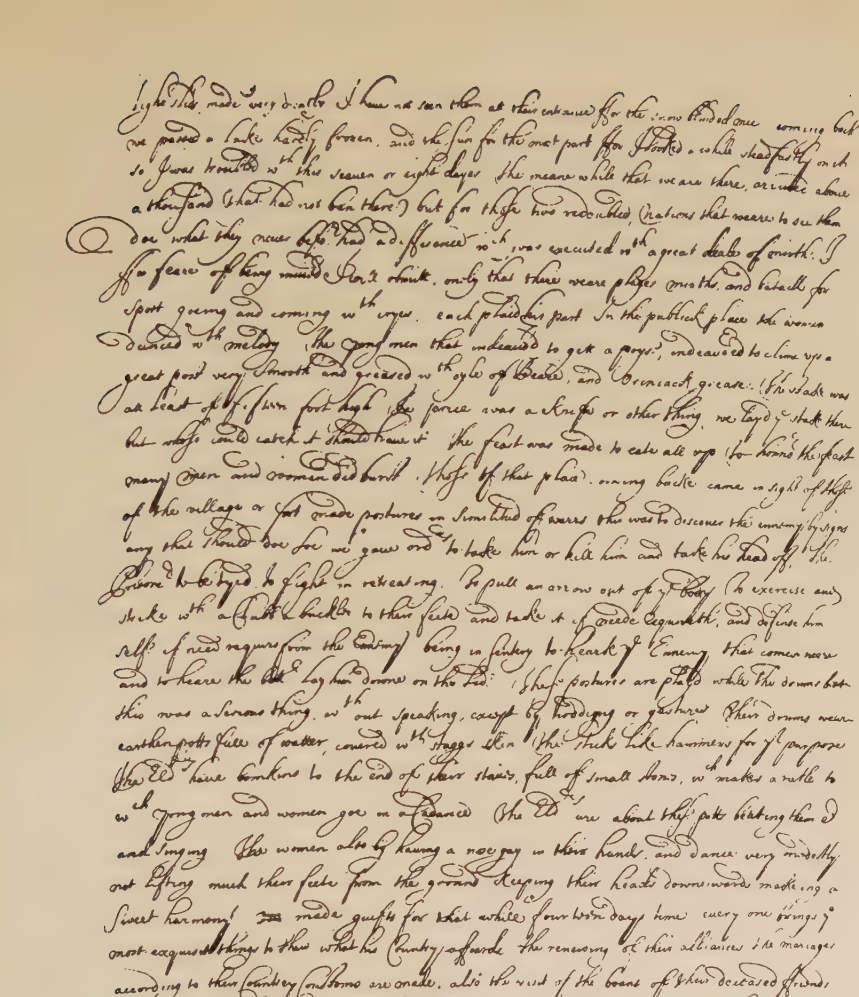
Early Wisconsin Exploration, Forts, and Trading Posts

By Edward D. Neill, D. D.

Benjamin Sulte, in "Notes on Jean Nicolet," published in 1879, in vol. viii, of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* shows that this interpreter of a trading company, Nicolet, visited as early as 1634, the region around Green Bay, and the next year returned to Canada. This paved the way for other enterprising explorers and traders. It is only of recent occurrence that we have had a full account of the early explorations of Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Mr. Gideon D. Scull, of London, discovered not long since, in the Library of the British Museum, manuscript journals of Pierre Radisson, the Frenchman, who with his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart, the sieur des Groseilliers, had penetrated central Wisconsin, and was the first to visit the region now known as Minnesota. Mr. Scull transcribed the journals for the Prince Society, Boston, which published them in 1885.

Radisson was not a scholar, was careless about dates, and the transcriber of the manuscripts, or the type-setter, has mangled many Indian words; and yet there are facts in the volume which may modify some of the statements of modern historians as to the exploration of the Northwest. These manuscript journals have a curious history. They once belonged to Samuel Pepys, of the court of Charles the Second, whose charming *Diary* is found in every well filled gentleman's library. In time they became attached to the Bodleian collection of manuscripts, and at length found their way to the British Museum.



Facsimile of page of Pierre Radisson's Journal, from the original MS. in Bodleian Library, Oxford, England

Romantic Career of Radisson

Peter d'Esprit, sieur Radisson, was born at St. Malo, and when young, in 1651, arrived in Canada. The next year, while on an expedition, he was captured by the Mohawks, and reached Fort Orange, now Albany, where for a time he acted as interpreter. He went to Manhattan, now New York city, and from thence sailed, and, in January, 1654, arrived at Amsterdam. In a few months he returned to Canada, and in 1657 was among the Onondagas, but in the spring of 1658 returned to Three Rivers, Canada. Groseilliers and his brother-in-law, Radisson, in 1658, determined to explore the region of the Great Lakes. Radisson, in his journal, writes: "As soon as the resolution was made, many undertake the voyage; for where is lucre, there are enough people to be had."

In the middle of June, with twenty-nine Frenchmen and six Indians, they left Three Rivers, and by way of the Ottawa River reached Lake Huron.[1] Thence they visited Manitoulin Island, where the Hurons had a village. Passing through the straits of Mackinaw to Lake Michigan, they reached Green Bay, and after visiting the Standing Hair tribe, so called because they kept their hair brushed up, they went to the Poutauotemick village. During the winter they became acquainted with the Escotecke or Maskoutens, and learned about the Sioux and Christinos.

In the spring of 1659, Radisson proposed that the Hurons of their party should visit the refugees of their tribe toward the sources of the Wisconsin and Black rivers. In October, 1659, a visit was made to the Sault of Lake Superior, to the Indians whom Radisson calls Pauvestigouce. The Algonquins called these Pawitagouek, People of the Falls. Here the French passed the winter; and, in the spring of 1660, returned to the Green Bay region, where Radisson mentions he went up a great river which branched, one turning west and the other south toward Mexico. It is possible he may have followed the Wisconsin as far as the Mississippi River. In August, 1660, Radisson and Groseilliers returned to Quebec.[2]

[1] Radisson's *Journal*.

[2] *Journal des Jésuites*, par M. M. les Abbes Laverdiere et Casgrain, Quebec, 1771.

Expedition of 1662

In the spring of 1662, Groseilliers and Radisson proposed to make another tour to the remotest nations, and the Governor of Canada expressed his willingness to give them a license, provided they would take with them two of his servants and allow him one-half of the peltries obtained. Looking upon the demand as unjust, they quietly made their arrangements to slip away, which they did on the second of May,[1] in company with a party of Indians returning to the Sault, at the entrance of Lake Superior. Their purpose was to find Hudson's Bay by way of Lake Superior. In time they camped by the Utawas, now Ottawa River, Lake Huron, "ready" writes Radisson, "to wander on that sweet sea." Following the route from Georgian Bay, by the straits of the Manitoulin Island, they came to the rapids "that make the separation of the Lake of the Hurons and that we call Superior, or Upper" lake. Here they rested for some time, and ate "assickamack," whitefish.

Exploration of Lake Superior

While Radisson's dates are confusing, yet he gives a very correct account of the earliest explorations of the south shore of Lake Superior, and asserts that he was the first white man to visit the Arched Rock. The first stopping place, after entering Lake Superior was an isle designated as "Isle of the Four Beggars;" from thence they paddled toward the south shore, and came to a small stream, which the Indians called Pawabick Konesibis, and in the vicinity found pieces of copper, and were told that it was abundant; probably the Little Iron River. The weather was becoming cold, and they pushed on to an escarpment of rocks, which Indians called Namitouck Sinagoit. Within an arch was a cave, and Radisson writes: "I gave it the name of the Portal of St. Peter, because my name is so-called, and that I was the first Christian who ever saw it."

The next they saw were three beautiful islands in front of a very deep bay. The islands are called Trinity; these, on modern maps, are marked Huron Islands. Going to the

[1] *Journal des Jésuites.*

main land, they camped three days at the mouth of the Hudson River. The next journey was the Portage River, on the west shore of Keweenaw Bay, where much was heard of rich copper deposits. Here the canoes were taken ashore, and by a well-beaten trail a portage was made to the other side of Keweenaw Point and much distance saved. Five days' journey along the south shore of the lake brought their canoes to an encampment of Christinos, not far from the Montreal River of modern maps. A half-day's journey brought the two explorers to a point two leagues long jutting out into the lake, but only sixty paces in width. By a short portage the beautiful bay of Cheguamegon was discovered, and Groseilliers and Radisson, with their Huron guides, went to the head of the bay and camped near a small stream, between the modern towns of Ashland and Washburn, Wisconsin.

First European Port on Lake Superior

The Hurons told the Frenchmen that they wished to go to a village five days' distant, to visit their wives and friends. A settlement of refugee Hurons was at this time toward the sources of the Black and Chippewa rivers, in Wisconsin. Groseilliers and Radisson agreed to wait for them fourteen days, and occupied the interval in building the first rude European fort or trading-post on Lake Superior. It was of pickets in the shape of a triangle. The door faced the lake, fire-place in the middle, and sleeping place in the right-hand corner. It was surrounded by an abattis of branches of trees, and around the whole was suspended a long cord upon which were small bells which took the place of sentries. A small brook was near by. On the twelfth day of their residence at the bay, some of the Hurons came back with fifty young men, and preparations were made to visit their village. The Frenchmen, after a march of four days through the forest, reached a village near a lake eight leagues in circumference. The next day they reached a settlement of one hundred wigwams, and were the guests of the chief. Here were met some Malhominees (Menominees), and an old man of the tribe adopted Radisson as

his son. The winter was passed in following the Indians while hunting. The snow was deep, and there was much suffering from scurvy and hunger. In the spring, a deputation of Nadoues Seronons (Sioux), known as the Bœuf (or Buffalo) people, arrived, and in a great council expressed their wish to be on friendly terms with the French. The French were told that Tantanga was the name for the buffalo. The Sioux wore in their noses and ears rings of copper wire, to which in cold weather they attached feathers or down to break the force of the wind—rude face-mufflers. Their drums were earthen pots wound with dried skins. They wanted to have thunder to take home with them—that is, a gun, which they called miniskoick—and the French to make peace for them with the Christinos, their enemies. Radisson mentions, that after this council, he visited the Bœuf Sioux, who were distant "seven small journeys," and found a prairie town of lodges of skins and mats, the population very numerous, and one man had fourteen wives; that where they were there was no wood, but in the winter they moved to the woods of the north. These were probably Prairie Sioux or Ioways, who in the summer hunted below the Minnesota River. After remaining six weeks he returned to the Huron village. Returning to Lake Superior, Groseilliers and Radisson coasted along the western shore, and heard of another lake, probably Nepigon, and explored the region from Groseillier, now Pigeon River, northward to the tributaries of Hudson Bay, but did not go to Lake Winnipeg, as some have written.

This primitive establishment at the southern extremity of Chequamegon Bay, became a great depot for Indian trade, which flourished for some time.[1] Pierre Boucher, in a little

[1] This locality of Radisson and Groseilliers seems to have been selected for the early mission establishment of Father Allouez—at the head of Chequamegon Bay; or, "near the southwest corner of the Bay, and between the head of the Bay and the modern town of Washburn," as Father Verwyst describes it, as indicated by the Jesuit map of 1671, most probably drawn by Marquette and Allouez. This was probably not very far from the mouth of Whittlesey Creek, nearly three miles west of Ashland, where was a migratory colony of Hurons and Ottawas, which

book published in Paris, in 1664, mentions that four or five Frenchmen lately returned from Lake Superior, who had discovered a large island full of copper, and had been absent three years.

Dispute with Governor of Canada

Returning to Quebec, for £4,000, the governor gave them permission to make a fort at Three Rivers, and bear a coat-of-arms. But his exactions became so great that they went to the English settlements, and in 1665 they went with Commissioner Carteret in Capt. Gillam's vessel to England. They were entertained at Oxford by Carteret, and the next winter passed three months at Windsor with Sir Peter Colleton. Radisson married in London a daughter of Sir John Kirk, and accompanied from the Thames, Capt. Gillam, of Boston, in 1667, in the ship "Non Such" to Hudson's Bay, where Groseilliers and he established English trading-posts. A son of Gov. Winthrop, of Connecticut, on Dec. 11, 1671, writes to his father from Boston: "All the news is that Zachary Gillam is returned from the North-West passage with abundance of beaver."

Hayes River, of Hudson's Bay, was named from Sir Peter Hayes, one of the founders of the Hudson's Bay Company, who always remained friendly to the two Frenchmen who had been the occasion of organizing the corporation; but with others they had some dispute, and, in 1675, they went to Paris and offered themselves to the French. In 1682, they appeared in Hudson's Bay, under the French flag, and captured their former associates, and changed the name of Port Nelson to Port Bourbon, and seized an English ship called the "Bachelor's Delight." Toward the close of December, 1683, the Frenchmen again arrived in Paris. Lord Preston, the English ambassador, on Jan. 19, 1684, wrote home: "Sent my secretary to know if the king had ordered any answer concerning the attack upon Nelson's post. I

Father Allouez found there in 1665. *Jesuit Relations*, 1667; Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst's *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Ménard, and Allouez in the Lake Superior Region* (Milwaukee and Chicago, 1886), pp. 175–183. L. C. D.

find the great support of Mons de la Barre, the present governor of Canada, is from the Jesuits of this court, which order hath always a great number of missionaries in that region, who, besides the conversion of infidels, have had the address to engross the whole castor trade from which they draw considerable advantage. * * * Radition [Radisson] arrived about the time you mentioned at Rochelle, and hath been in Paris these five days. There came on shore, at the same time, from a merchant vessel, "Les Groselliers," a person whose story is well known in those countries."

By the persuasions of Lord Preston and Sir James Hayes, the two Frenchmen agreed to go to England, were presented to the king in the spring, and Radisson sailed for Hudson's Bay, where he had the French flag lowered, and the English banner again hoisted.

In 1665, some traders from Cheguamegon visited Canada, and invited the Jesuit Allouez to return with them. He reached the bay on the first of October. He remained there several years, but on the third of November, 1669, left Sault Ste. Marie for the Green Bay region. He writes: "Two canoes of Pouteouatamis wishing to take me to their country, not that I might instruct them, they having no disposition to receive the faith, but to pacify some young Frenchmen, who were among them for the purpose of trading."[1] On the second of December, the eve of St. Francis Xavier's day, he reached a point in the Green Bay region where were French traders; and, the next day, eight of them attended mass.

In September, 1680, Du Luth and some other white men, left the Sioux of the Mille Lacs region. Hennepin, who had accompanied two of La Salle's traders up the Mississippi, and had met with Du Luth, who had been in the Lake Superior region for a long period, writes as follows: "Toward the end of September, having no implements to begin an establishment, we resolved to tell these people, that for their benefit we would have to return to the French settlements. The grand chief of the Issati or Nadouessioux

[1] *Jesuit Relations*, 1669–70.

consented, and traced in pencil, on paper I gave him, the route for four hundred leagues."

La Salle, under date of August 22, 1682, wrote in opposition to Du Luth engaging in trade, as follows: "But, if they go by way of the Ouisconsing, where for the present, the chase of the buffalo is carried on, and where I have commenced an establishment, they will ruin the trade, of which I am laying the foundation." [1]

Du Luth was in France early in 1683, but in the spring returned to Canada. The Jesuit Engelran, on August 26, 1683, wrote that on the eighth of the month, Du Luth had left Mackinaw, with thirty men, by way of Green Bay, to trade with the Sioux. Before 1689, a trading-post or fort was established at the head-waters of the Saint Croix River, the point which in June, 1680, had been visited by Du Luth. It is marked on Franquelin's map.

In the spring of 1685, Nicholas Perrot was made commandant for the west, and the next winter he passed on the banks of the Mississippi, where he was first visited by the Ioways. Upon Franquelin's map of 1688, is marked the "butte," where the French wintered, not far from the Black River. La Potherie asserts, that they stopped where there were woods, at the foot of a high hill (*au pied d'une Montagne*), behind which was a large prairie.[2] Major Long, in his *Canoe Voyage of 1817*, writing of *"Montagne qui trempe l'eau"* refers to "high bluff lands, insulated by a broad, flat prairie."

Perrot was soon ordered to proceed with allies to join the French in the war against the Senecas of New York. In the fall of 1687, after ice had begun to form on the Fox River, Perrot passed down the Wisconsin, to the Mississippi River, and returned to the post on the east bank of the river,[3] where in 1685–86, he had passed the winter.

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[1] *Margry*, ii, p. 254.

[2] *La Potherie*, ii, Paris, 1722.

[3] When Penicaut in 1700, passed through Lake Ban Secours, as Pepin until this period had been called, the fort was standing on the east shore. His words translated are: "To the right and left of its shores there are also prairies; in that on the right, on the Lake Shore, there is a fort, which was

According to La Potherie, it was not until the next spring after the river was free from ice, that the Sioux came down to the post, and escorted him to their country. A recent perusal of La Potherie convinces the writer that there was no post on Lake Pepin before this period.

Penicaut, a member of Le Sueur's expedition in 1700, refers to the fort built by Perrot, on the right bank of the lake, to one ascending, and upon Franquelin's map above the "R. des Sauteurs," the Chippewa River of our maps, appears marked "Fort St. Antoine;" and here in May, 1689, Perrot took formal possession of the region. In the "procès verbal,"[1] among others mentioned as present during this ceremonial, is M. de Bois-Guillot, commandant les François aux environs de Siskonche, sur le Mississippi."

Upon Franquelin's map, just above the mouth of the Wisconsin, the site of Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, is marked "Fort St. Nicolas," which must have been Bois-Guillot's post.

When Perrot ascended the Mississippi, some of the Fox Indians at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, changed their residence and established themselves on the banks of the Mississippi River.[2]

In a map of Jefferys, geographer to the king of England, prepared in 1762, more than seventy years after that of Franquelin was drawn, a copy of which is appended to the *Report on Ontario Boundaries*, by David Mills, the mark "O" appears at the mouth of the Wisconsin River, covering both sides, and the point is designated "Fort Nicolas destroyed." In Jefferys' map, in Neill's *History of Minnesota*, this fort is erroneously placed below the mouth of the Wisconsin River.[3]

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built by Nicolas Perrot. It still to-day bears his name." Penicaut describing this locality on his upward voyage, refers to the fort on the eastern shore as on the right.

[1] This document in French is given in Tailhan's *Perrot*, pages 304, 305 published in Leipzig and Paris, 1864.

[2] *La Potherie*, vol. ii, p. 218.

[3] In 1858, when the first edition of the *History of Minnesota* was prepared, I found, in an old book on the Northwest Coast, a map purporting

Perrot, on his return to the Green Bay region, in 1690, received a present of a lump of lead ore from a chief of the Miami tribe; and he promised that in twenty days, he would establish a post below the mouth D'Ouiskonche.[1] La Potherie mentions, that the chief told Perrot that lead ore could be found forty leagues from the place where he conversed with him. According to promise, Perrot visited the lead mines, and found "the lead hard to work, because it lay between rocks which required blasting. It had very little dross, and was easily melted."

Penicaut, the companion of Le Sueur, in his narrative published in the fifth volume of the Margry *Collections,* tells where these mines were situated. After mentioning the passage of the rapids of the Mississippi at Rock Island, he writes: "We found both on the right and left bank the lead mines, called to this day the mines of Nicolas Perrot, the name of the discoverer. Twenty leagues[2] from there, on the right was found the mouth of a large river, the Ouisconsin."

The Jesuit, Tailhan, in his notes to Perrot's *Memoir* upon Indian customs and religions, published for the first time in 1864, mentions that Perrot, in 1690, learning that the Miamis, Maskoutins, and Outagamis had formed a league against the Sioux and Sauteurs, hastened to his old fort in the Sioux region, to act as a barrier against their foes. Having established friendly relations, he came back to the post, which he had recently built, which, Tailhan remarks, was probably at the lead mines, twenty-one leagues above the Des Moines River—the "Mouingouena."

There appears, then, before 1700, to have been a post on the Mississippi, just above the Wisconsin, according to Franquelin, and a post some leagues below, near the lead

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to be a copy of Jeffery's, and I had a portion of it engraved. The map of Jefferys in the *Ontario Boundaries*, by David Mills, is more accurate.

[1] *La Potherie* (edition 1753), ii, p. 251.

[2] Penicaut's estimate of distances cannot be relied upon. He gives the distance from the Saint Croix River to Falls of Saint Anthony as eight leagues. Major Long, in his *Canoe Voyage of 1817*, makes the distance more than fifty miles; while the U. S. land survey makes it thirty-nine miles.

mines. The post on the site of Prairie du Chien, and those elsewhere, were all abandoned when, in 1700, Le Sueur explored the Minnesota River.

In June, 1727, an expedition left Montreal under René Boucher, the Sieur de la Perriere, to establish a post on Lake Pepin. His party arriving there on the 17th of September following, built a post, according to Father Guignas, upon the western shore of Lake Pepin, "about the middle of the north side, on a low point, where the soil is excellent. * * * We are here on the parallel of 43 deg., and 41 min." Frontenac, in Goodhue County, occupied the site of this old fort, and recently, a four and a six pound cannon-ball were found at the railway station, five feet below the surface. It is noteworthy that Sieur La Perriere Boucher, the officer in command of the Indians who surprised Haverhill, Mass., killed the minister of the town, scalped his wife and broke the skull of his child against a rock, and shot one Samuel Sibley, said to be a relative of Hon. H. H. Sibley, of St. Paul, was the person who established this post at Point du Sable on Lake Pepin.

A connection of the leader of the expedition, was the wife of a person named Pepin,[1] and this may account for the name of the lake. The post, in compliment to the governor of Canada, was called Beauharnois. Bellin, the geographer, mentions the early post above the Chippewa River, and then another post on the opposite side of the lake.

Though not within the borders of Wisconsin, yet ranking prominently as one of the line of early upper posts, a further notice of Fort Beauharnois will find a proper place in this connection. It was located at the sandy point which extends into Lake Pepin opposite the celebrated Maiden's Rock. Boucher built a stockade of pickets twelve feet high, forming a square of 100 feet, with two bastions, and called the post Fort Beauharnois, in compliment to the governor of Canada. On the 15th of April, 1728, the water in the lake was unusually high, and overflowed the point, so that the log buildings within the enclosure were full of water, and

[1] Jean Pepin, on November 23, 1685, married Madeline Loiseau, at Boucherville.

it was necessary for two weeks to dwell upon higher ground. The principal trader at the post at this time was the Sieur de Montbrun Boucher, a brother of the commandant, and the armorer and blacksmith was Francis Campau, a brother of him who settled at Detroit, and whose descendants are so numerous in Michigan.

Owing to the hostility of the Renards (or Fox) Indians, early in October, 1728, the post was left in charge of a young man, the Sieur Dufrost Jemeraye, and a few voyageurs, while the rest placed the goods in canoes, retreated down the Mississippi toward the Illinois River, and were captured by allies of the Renards. The Sieur Jemeraye, early in 1729, abandoned the post, and nothing was done toward its re-establishment. In March, 1730, the Sieur Marin, a bold officer, moved against and had an engagement of the "warmest character" with the Renards in Wisconsin, and in September of the same year another French force attacked them, killed many of their warriors and compelled them to escape. After this defeat of the Foxes, it was determined to build a new post on higher ground, yet in the vicinity of the first stockade, which had been destroyed. The new commandant appointed was the Sieur Linctot, and the second officer was the Sieur Portneuf. Linctot's son, Campau, and several others were licensed to trade with the Sioux. Linctot passed the winter of 1731–32 at "Montagne qui trempe dans l'eau," now corrupted to Trempealeau, and early in the spring of 1732, proceeded to the vicinity, Sandy Point, Lake Pepin, and found at the site of the old stockade a large number of Sioux awaiting his arrival. Selecting a better position, he erected a larger post, the pickets enclosing 120 feet square, and there were four bastions.

The Sieur Linctot, in 1733, asked to be relieved, and the able officer, Sieur Legardeur Saint Pierre, was sent to command. Upon the 6th of May, 1736, Saint Pierre was informed by letters from Lake Superior of the dreadful massacre of twenty-one Frenchmen on an island in the Lake of the Woods by a party of Sioux. The 16th of September, there came to the Lake Pepin post a party of Sioux with some beaver skins as a pledge of friendship, and the next day

another party, one of whom wore in his ear a silver pendant. When asked by St. Pierre how he obtained the ornament, he refused to answer, and the captain tore it from his ear and found that it was similar in workmanship to those sold by the traders, and then placed him under guard. The Sioux in December were unruly, and burned the pickets around the garden of Guignas, chaplain of the post. In the spring of 1737, a war party of Ojibways appeared from the St. Louis River of Lake Superior, and wished to attack the Sioux, and threatened St. Pierre; and, after conferring with the son of Linctot, the second officer, in May, 1737, he set fire to the post, and descended the Mississippi.

After a few years, the Sioux begged that the French would return to Lake Pepin, and in 1750, the governor of Canada sent the great Indian fighter and stern officer, Pierre Paul Marin, to take command there, and Marin's son was stationed at Chegoumigon of Lake Superior. In 1752, Marin the elder was relieved at Lake Pepin, and his son became his successor. The next year the father arrived with an army at Presqu' Isle, now Erie, Penn., to prevent the settlement of the English in the valley of the Ohio. From Presqu'Isle he cut a road of fifteen miles to what was called by the English, French Creek, and there built a stockade which was guarded at the gate by a cannon of four pound caliber, and the pieces in the bastions were six pounders. During the month of October, the elder Marin was taken sick, and while down upon his bed he received from the governor of Canada the decoration of the military order of St. Louis. Near sunset, on the 29th of the month, he died, and was buried at that post. Capt. Legardeur Saint Pierre, who preceded him at Lake Pepin, was made his successor, and early in December, 1753, he assumed command. Seven days later there appeared at the post in northwestern Pennsylvania a young man about twenty-one years old, named George Washington, with a letter from Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia.

The war between the French and English, which continued several years, led to the abandonment of the post at

Lake Pepin. Capt. Jonathan Carver, the first British traveler in Minnesota, mentions in his book of travels in 1766 "he observed the ruins of a French factory where it is said Capt. St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies before the reduction of Canada." Lieut. Pike, the first officer of the United States army to pass through Lake Pepin, writing in 1806 of Point du Sable, or Sandy Point, which he reached on the same day of the same month as La Perriere in 1727, observes: "The French under the government of M. Frontenac, drove the Renards or Ottaquamies from the Ouisconsing, and pursued them up the Mississippi; and, as a barrier, built a stockade on Lake Pepin on the west shore just below Point du Sable, and, as was generally the case with that nation, blended the military and mercantile professions by making their fort a factory for the Sioux."

A short distance from the extreme end of the Point, near the mouth of what Pike, on his map, calls Sandy Point Creek, there is an eminence from which there is an extensive view of Lake Pepin below and above the sandy peninsula. There is evidence that there has been once a clearing there, and it is the most suitable spot in the vicinity for a stockade, and visible to any one coming up in a boat from the bend near where Lake City is now situated. By the valley of the creek, the Sioux of the prairies could readily bring their peltries to the post. The cannon-balls found in the ground at Frontenac station may have been discharged in some engagement with hostile Indians, or they may have been taken from the fort, after its abandonment, and placed in a cache.

The only satisfactory map, in relation to the early posts, is that of Franquelin,[1] De l'Isle's *Carte de la Louisiane et cours du Mississippi,* published in 1718, calls Lake St.

[1] Jean Baptiste Franquelin was the great cartographer of his day. He was born in 1653, and, in 1685, married Elizabeth Aubert, the widow of Bertrand Chesné. Gov. De la Barre, of Canada, in 1683, wrote to the French Government: "The map of the country I have had prepared for you, will give you a perfect knowledge of everything, and the means of interesting his Majesty therein. The young man who made these maps is

Croix, "Lac Pepin;" shows the lead mines above "Des Moines on Moingona River;" places a post above the St. Croix River; another below Lake Pepin, on the west side; and Fort l' Huillier, on a tributary of the Minnesota River. The position of the last is correctly given, while that of the others is incorrect.

In *Carte du Canada* of De l'Isle, revised by his son-in-law, Philip Buache, 1745, Fort Le Sueur, built, in 1695, upon an island above Lake Pepin, is marked as below the lake, and destroyed, and no other post is shown on the banks of the Mississippi above Rock Island.

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named Franquelin. He is as skillful as any in France. * * * He is at work on a very correct map of the country, which I shall send you, next year, in his name."

Harrisse speaks of a drawing of a map, in the archives of France, signed Johannes Ludovicus Franquelin, pinxit, and thinks it was drafted in 1681—a tracing from the original is in the Parliament Library of Canada. Upon this map is an attempt to fix the residences of tribes north of Miskous, perhaps intended for Miskons, or Wisconsin River. The Chaiena (Cheyennes), allies of the Sioux, are marked as dwelling in Northern Minnesota, as they did at that period.

In 1684, Franquelin finished the map to which Gov. De la Barre alluded, based upon the observations of twelve years. In 1688, he drew another map of North America, an engraving of which first appeared in 1882, in the fourth edition of Neill's *History of Minnesota*, based upon sixteen years of observation; and, in 1689, he drew yet another map, according to Harrisse.

French Fort at Prairie du Chien a Myth

By Consul Willshire Butterfield

On the evening of the first Monday in January, 1884, a paper entitled "American History," written by me, was read before the Madison (Wisconsin) Literary Club, in which I took occasion to point out "some assertions not altogether warranted," as I believed, made by Wisconsin historians. I called these assertions, "mock pearls in Wisconsin history." One of the errors, I spoke of was as follows:

"It has long been a tradition, and this tradition has now so hardened into print as, I fear, to be well-nigh indestructible, that the French government, when it dominated over the Northwest, erected upon the prairie at the mouth of the Wisconsin River—'Prairie des Chiens,' as it was anciently called, but now 'Prairie du Chien'—an extensive fort, and garrisoned it with regular troops. As early as 1820, a map was published by the United States, on which is delineated this famous fortification; huge walls with their salient projections, all shown as if some mighty military genius had planned its construction. And it is only last year that our excellent Historical Society devoted, in the last volume of their *Collections,* considerable space to the discussion of its precise locality.

"Now, after all this, what dare we say? I can only venture in 'accents low'—there was never on the 'Prairie des Chiens'—never within what are now the boundaries of Crawford county, Wisconsin—a French military post of any kind; never a stockade or fortification built there by the French, or while France held dominion over this region; nor were French soldiers ever stationed there. No official French document has ever been discovered giving any account of a fort there. No traveler visiting the 'Prairie des Chiens' during the French domination in the Northwest (a period extending from 1671 to 1761) mentions any fortifi-

cation there. No one has ever placed on record that he had been told that there was such a fort there, by one who had seen it."

The *History of Crawford County, Wisconsin,* was published soon after the reading of that paper. In it, extending from page 329 to page 334, inclusive, is an article, written by me, entitled "The French Fort—a Myth." I repeated in that article substantially what is found in the foregoing extract, leaving out all reference to the United States map of 1820. I do this in the first paragraph on page 329 of that work; then the authorities bearing upon the subject are given, and my reasons for the grounds taken.

The Real Issue

The reader will not fail to observe that the only purpose I have, both in the Address and County History, in treating of the subject at all is, to prove that there never was a French fort within the present limits of Crawford County, Wisconsin. Prof. James D. Butler, LL. D., and Lyman C. Draper, LL. D., corresponding secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, say there has been such a fort within what now are the limits of that county; and this makes up the issue between us.

Now, if the reader will turn back, in this volume, he will find an article entitled, "French Fortifications near the mouth of the Wisconsin, 'Hold the Fort,'" extending from page 54 to page 63, inclusive, wherein Prof. Butler argues his side of the question, and Dr. Draper annotates what he says, with approval generally, citing an additional authority and corroborating the professor's statement that there was within what are now the limits of Crawford County, Wisconsin, a French fort—at least one, probably two. Prof. Butler's paper and Dr. Draper's annotations, together constitute a criticism upon what I had previously written concerning the supposed French fort in Crawford County.

And now as to Prof. Butler's article: He begins by quoting from my paper read before the Madison Literary Club, the real point at issue; but he simply quotes and makes no comments thereon. Then he follows with a paragraph

beginning thus: "Such is the language of a recent historian [meaning myself], who further declares belief in any French fort near Prairie du Chien to be 'one of the mock pearls in Wisconsin history.'" Here is raised an entirely new question—an entirely new issue; for every one knows there might have been many such forts built *near* Prairie du Chien, and not one of them within what are now the limits of Crawford County. No such language is used by me, either in the paper read before the Madison Literary Club or in the *History of Crawford County.*

Again, on page 57 of this volume of *Collections,* Dr. Butler says: "Even in the absence of all evidence then, it would appear a bold assertion [one I have never made] that there was never any French military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin, unless 'some official French document can be discovered giving an account of such work, or some traveler mentions it.'" Here is raised another entirely new question—another entirely new issue; for every one knows there might have been any number of such posts *near* the mouth of the Wisconsin, and not one of them within the present limits of Crawford County.

If the reader will turn back and read over Prof. Butler's article carefully, he will not fail to find that a very large portion is taken up in arguing these new issues—in answering these new questions; each of which is of his own making—of his own asking.

Dr. Butler proves to his own satisfaction (and certainly to mine): (1) that one Nicholas Perrot, about the year 1685, built a fort on the Mississippi River *below* the Wisconsin; (2) that it was a French fort—occupied by French soldiers; (3) that it had an advantageous situation as against attacks of an enemy; and (4) that it was named and known as "Fort St. Nicholas." Each and every one of these propositions, I believe to be true. But what have they to do with the question at issue? Surely, if Fort St. Nicholas was *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin, it was not in what is now the city of Prairie du Chien, nor was it in any part of Crawford County, as now bounded; and its boundaries have not been changed for a number of years. I do not see that, be-

cause there was a fort *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin, there must necessarily be one *above* it, at Prairie du Chien.

Reference is made in Prof. Butler's article to the maps of Franquelin, D'Anville, Bellin, and Jefferys, and to the atlas of Coven and Mortier, as showing, near the mouth of the Wisconsin, Fort St. Nicholas. Granted: but they do not all show a fort *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin. Franquelin's and D' Anville's show it *above* and on the east side of the Mississippi. These two maps proved too much for the professor; and, if they were to be relied on, they would prove too much for me. Prof. Butler, not knowing how to meet the difficulty, totally ignores it. But that close observer of all things appertaining to Western history—Dr. Draper—knowing what the real issue is, and being determined to stick to it, calls the attention of the reader to the fact that, on the maps of Franquelin and D'Anville, a French fort—"Fort St. Nicholas"—is marked immediately *above* the mouth of the Wisconsin and east of the Mississippi, just where Prairie du Chien is now situated. Therefore, there is but one thing for me to do: I must discredit these maps as to the location of the fort, or I "lose my case." The important question then is, were these map-makers correct? I say no; and so says Dr. Butler; yet he asks, as to Franquelin, "why should we reject his testimony?" After going over a great deal of ground, he answers the question by proving Fort St. Nicholas to have been on the Mississippi, *below* the Wisconsin. I would say then to my critic: "Hold the French fort," but continue to "hold it" *outside* of Crawford County, Wisconsin.

Dr. Draper says (*ante*, page 63, note 2) that "It [Fort St. Nicholas] had, very likely, but a brief existence." Exactly that view I have heretofore held; but Perrot's "Minute of Taking Possession of the country on the Upper Mississippi," shows conclusively, as I now discover, that it was occupied as late as 1689—four years after its erection. The commander of its garrison, at that date was Bois-Guillot. Supposing, then, that Fort St. Nicholas had been abandoned, and knowing that that Frenchman had command of "the French in the neighborhood of the Wisconsin, on the Mis-

sissippi," I came to the conclusion that he must have been stationed at Perrot's upper fort, near Lake Pepin, and so stated in the *History of Crawford County*. Bois-Guillot was beyond all doubt in command, in 1689, of Fort St. Nicholas.[1]

Franquelin finished his map in 1688, which must have been during the occupancy of the fort just mentioned. Is it reasonable to suppose that, at the *same* time, belonging to the *same* king, that there should be two forts of the *same* name, one immediately *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin, the other immediately *above* it? The law of historical criticism says it could not be so; one or the other is a myth. But Prof. Butler has very clearly proven that the one *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin was a reality; therefore, the one *above* must have been "as baseless as the fabric of a vision;" or, to speak in plain prose, Franquelin put his little mark above the mouth of that river, when he should have put it below.

Now, this Franquelin was the king's hydrographer, and his map is "very correct," and the "most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of North America;" and yet Fort St. Anthony (Antoine) is put down by him as on the east bank of the Mississippi; just below Lake Pepin, when it was actually at the head of Green Bay.[2] That was a great mistake; his marking Fort St. Nicholas *above* the mouth of the Wisconsin when it should have been *below* it, was a slight error.

However, lest the reader should, after all, imagine that there might have been two forts, each called St. Nicholas, let him turn back to page 63 of this volume and there, in note 2, he will see that the learned secretary of the State Historical Society infers there was but one; and he is right: but he also, it is manifest, inclines to the opinion that that one was above the mouth of the Wisconsin, differing from Dr. Butler and myself; for he says: "Thus, good authorities point out the establishment of Perrot's Fort St. Nicholas, in

[1] New York *Colonial Documents*, vol. ix, p. 418. Compare, in this connection, Tailhan's *Perrot*, pp. 304, 305, 328.

[2] Compare the authorities just cited with Franquelin's map in Neill's *History of Minnesota*.

1685, just above the mouth of the Wisconsin, according to Franquelin and D'Anville, or just below, according to La Potherie." And he also says "that Dr. Neill, one of the very ablest historical investigators in the Northwest, locates Perrot's establishment of 1685, at Prairie du Chien."

Just what Dr. Neill does mean is not entirely clear. What he says is this: "It [Franquelin's map] also marks where the first party of Perrot wintered above Black River, and the first trading-post at Prairie du Chien, called, in compliment to Perrot's baptismal name, 'Fort St. Nicholas.'"[1] If, however, he really means what Dr. Draper thinks he does, it is because he has not studied La Potherie on the subject of that fort as closely and carefully as Prof. Butler.[2]

There is another reason why Fort St. Nicholas must have been below the mouth of the Wisconsin. La Potherie tells us how far it was above the lead mine Perrot discovered—twenty French leagues—forty-eight English miles. Now, Perrot's lead mine, it is well known, was at the site of the present city of Dubuque, Iowa, and that city is sixty miles below Prairie du Chien. Fort St. Nicholas was, therefore, not only some distance *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin, but an Indian tradition says it was on the west side of the Mississippi, in what is now the State of Iowa; and the topography of the valley would seem to confirm this tradition; for it would be difficult to find on the east side such an advantageous situation as is described by La Potherie, immediately below the mouth of the Wisconsin.

But there are physical reasons why Fort St. Nicholas was not above the Wisconsin. A broad prairie extends from that stream up the Mississippi, on the east side, for nearly eight miles. Portions of this prairie are sometimes submerged; and, along the river, in no one place is it but little if any above high-water mark. It certainly does not in the least answer to the advantageous site of Fort St. Nicholas as so particularly described by La Potherie.

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[1] Neill's *History of Minnesota*, p. 779.

[2] On Jefferys' map in Neill's *History*—the same map cited by Prof. Butler—Ft. Nicholas is clearly *below* the mouth of the Wisconsin.

Every argument and fact militating against Franquelin also militates equally against the one or two map-makers who followed him, and doubtless copied from him, in locating Fort St. Nicholas above the mouth of the Wisconsin. There was not, then, at any time in the seventeenth century, a fort at what is now Prairie du Chien, or within the present limits of Crawford County, Wisconsin.

Supposed French Fort of 1755

I now come to the consideration of the supposed French fort erected upon the site (or adjacent thereto) of the present city of Prairie du Chien, in 1755. And here, for the first time, Prof. Butler discusses the real issue; for the first time seeks to prove that there was once a French fort in Prairie du Chien, or, if the reader please, within the present boundaries of Crawford County.

The words of Dr. Draper (*ante,* page 63, note 2) are these: "Another fort was established in 1755, at what is called Lower Town of Prairie du Chien;" that is, another French fort was established. Then he adds: "the particular locality of which is designated in volume nine of the Wisconsin Historical Society's *Collections,* pages 286–291." By referring to this volume, it will be discovered that his authority is exactly the same for his declaration as that given below by Dr. Butler; but he speaks of the fort as the "old French fort said to have been established in 1755."

In regard to the supposed French fort of 1755, Prof. Butler says: "In the *American State Papers* regarding Public Lands, we read that on February 25, 1818, Hon. George Robertson, from the committee on public lands, reported to the house of representatives, that in the year 1755, the government of France established a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin." Then Dr. Butler adds: "The report to Congress was based on information given by a government agent who had visited Prairie du Chien, and gathered up testimony on the spot." That statement by Dr. Butler is wholly erroneous. No government agent had, previous to the making of that report by Robertson, ever visited Prairie du Chien for any such purpose as indicated

by Prof. Butler. Robertson's report was "based on information" derived simply from a petition sent in by some citizens of Prairie du Chien; and every reference to a French fort having been erected in that place in 1755, was made by them from tradition only.

In 1820, two years subsequent to the date of Robertson's Report, Isaac Lee, an agent of the United States, visited Prairie du Chien to report upon land titles; and, to that end, "gathered up testimony on the spot." But, in *his* report, not a word is said about a French fort having been built in Prairie du Chien, in 1755. The report of Robertson is based wholly upon tradition; that of Lee, upon sworn evidence. Prof. Butler then comments on the evidence taken by Lee, just as though it had been the foundation for Robertson's report. He does not say that of all this "testimony gathered up on the spot" as to a French fort, not one word was given by anyone claiming to have ever seen the fort or claiming to have seen any person who had seen the fort; but such was the fact. And Dr. Butler then adds: "According to the oldest inhabitants, some of whom had resided there well-nigh from the close of the Revolutionary War, it was only during that contest that the French fort was burned." This last sentence is well calculated to carry the idea (1) that white settlers were living at Prairie du Chien during the whole continuance of the Revolution; (2) that it was during that contest the fort was burned; and (3) that the oldest inhabitants, some of whom had lived there well-nigh from the close of the war had been told by those who lived there before them, that they had seen the fort and that they saw it when it was burned; and that, therefore, the "testimony" gathered from the "oldest inhabitants" by the government agent must have great weight.

If the reader will take pains to read over just what these oldest inhabitants said (it has all been published[1]), he will quickly reach the conclusion that no such inference as that contained in the first and third propositions can be

[1] See *American State Papers* (Public Lands), vol. iv, pp. 867–879.

drawn from what they have left on record. But this will be more fully discussed hereafter. As to the second proposition, I will say that what was *supposed* to have been a French fort *was* burned during the Revolution. But I will presently explain why it was that what was burned was thought to have been a fort.

Here, let me again invoke the law of historical criticism. No traveler visiting "Prairie des Chiens" during French domination in the Northwest mentions any French fort either on the "prairie" or in any portion of what is now Crawford County—and that domination lasted, as we have already stated, from 1671 to 1761. There is not extant any official or unofficial document giving any account of the supposed French fort of 1755. No one has ever put it on record that he has ever seen any such fort. No one has placed on record that he had been told by one claiming to have seen such a fort, that it was in existence there, either in 1755 or later.[1]

No list of names of any officers or privates said to have been stationed there is in existence or, so far as is known, ever has been. No map of 1755 or later has upon it any such fort. There was a terrible war raging in the West at this very date between France and England for possession of this country, the incidents of which war have been carefully written by a number of able writers; yet not one of them mentions the existence of such a fort. Now, in view of all this, the impartial historian declares he would not be justified in saying that such a fort had ever existed, even though there was a tradition (be it ever so positive, but simply a tradition) to the contrary. To offset all this, what have we? Only a tradition, and an exceedingly vague one,

[1] According to the tradition upon which both my critics rely, the supposed fort was erected in 1755 and destroyed by fire in 1776—the second year of the Revolution. During that period, Jonathan Carver, an exceedingly close observer and careful writer, visited (in 1766) the "prairie." Can any one for a moment suppose that so striking an object as a fort on that low and level expanse, and particularly a *French* fort (for Carver was English, and this was soon after the close of the Old French War) would have escaped his notice? But Carver mentions no fort of any kind there.

that there was such a fort on the "prairie." But it is very plain to be seen *how* this tradition became rife among the settlers at Prairie du Chien.

Origin of the Tradition as to the French Fort of 1755

At the beginning of the year 1780, there were on the "Prairie des Chiens" what were subsequently called "the remains of ancient works, constructed probably for military purposes," very numerous and of great extent. The parapets and mounds were connected in one series of works. "Wherever there was an angle in the principal lines, a mound of the largest size was erected at the angle; the parapets were terminated by mounds at each extremity, and also at the gateways. No ditch was observed on either side of the parapet. In many places, the lines were composed of parapets and mounds in conjunction, the mounds being arranged along the parapets at their usual distance from each other, and operating as flank defences to the lines."[1] These were prehistoric earthworks of the same character as others now known to be scattered all over the West and Northwest; but when first seen by the Canadian French, who settled upon the "prairie" in 1781, they supposed them to be the remains of an ancient French or Spanish fort. And an event happened just before their arrival to help on their belief.

Early in the summer of 1780, a log-house, capable of holding three hundred and sixty packs of furs, is positively known to have been in existence upon the "prairie." That log-house was built on one of those prehistoric earthworks, just described as having parapets and other peculiarities of an ordinary fort. In June of the year last mentioned, about three hundred of the packs were taken out of this log-house and transported to "Fort Michilimackinac," for the reason that there was danger of their falling into the hands of the enemy—the Americans. The sixty remaining packs were burned as of little value. Reason and tradition both say

[1] S. H. Long's *Narrative*, by W. H. Keating, vol. 1, pp. 240, 241.

they were burned by setting fire to the building.[1] That building would have been a capital place for a detachment of George Rogers Clark's soldiers to have used as quarters.

This building, Prof. Butler says, it seems to him, was more properly a fort than a log-house; but the man who describes the building—who was in it—who helped to take "out about three hundred packs of the best skins,"—declares, "the merchants' peltry, in packs, was in a log-house, guarded by Captain Langlade and some Indians;"[2]—quite different language from my critic, who says "it was defended by a body of armed men, as forts are wont to be."

But my critics are, after all, suspicious that this log-house was the supposed French fort. Secretary Draper has previously given it as his opinion that the tradition concerning the burning of the fort referred to the burning of that building; and Dr. Butler, by declaring that the log-house seems to him properly "named a fort," prepares himself for the following sentence: "It was so named by almost everybody known to have been acquainted with those who had seen it." This implies that many persons whose names are known knew people who had seen the structure, and that these many persons all called it a fort because those who had seen it called it so. I challenge Dr. Butler to produce the name of one single person who has placed on record that he called it a fort because some one who had seen it called it so.[3] But, had one person or a great many persons so called it, would that make it a fort? Not at all.

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[1] Dr. Butler says, "there is no evidence that the house was burned." Dr. Draper (in Wisconsin State Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. ix, p. 290, note) says it is the "Brisbois tradition" that it was burned.

[2] J. Long's *Voyages and Travels*, p. 151.

[3] "My father, Michael Brisbois, told me that he had never seen a fort of any kind on the 'prairie' at an early day; that what he did see were remains thought to have been vestiges of a French fort; and no person, my father said, ever told him that he had seen anything except what were these remains supposed to be such a fort, on the 'prairie.'" Verbal statement of B. W. Brisbois to the writer, in January, 1884. Compare, in this connection, the Certificate of B. W. Brisbois, in the *History of Crawford County*, p. xiii, wherein he approves, inferentially, of all said in that work as to the supposed French fort.

No one fact in Wisconsin history is better established than that Basil Giard, Pierre Antaya, and Augustin Ange settled upon "Prairie des Chiens" in 1781. Soon after, during the same year, came Michael Brisbois. There is not one particle of evidence extant that any white persons—of French or other nationality—settled on the "prairie" before these French Canadians came. The first three named came at the same time. There is a great deal of evidence extant that when they came they found upon the "prairie" simply an Indian village—nothing more.[1] Let us now, bearing this in mind and remembering the year of the coming of these first settlers, look at the *whole* of the report as to the supposed French fort of 1755 and the first settlement of the "prairie," as given by Hon. George Robertson, and upon which my critics so much rely: "In the year 1755, the government of France established a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin; that [during that year] many French families settled themselves in the neighborhood, and established the village of Prairie du Chien; that, by the treaty of Versailles, in the year 1763, the village and the fort, following the condition of the Canadas and the Illinois country, passed to the crown of England." How absolutely has all that been proved over and over again to be wholly erroneous![2]

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[1] Compare, in this connection, *History of Crawford County, Wisconsin*, pp. 282–288; also, J. Long's *Voyages and Travels*, p. 148; Washburne's *Edward's Papers*, p. 60; S. H. Long's *Expedition* (by Keating), vol. i, p. 242. In January, 1884, I called the attention of B. W. Brisbois to what he is represented as saying in the Wisconsin State Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. ix, p. 291. His reply to me was, that the words: "There was certainly something of a French, as well as Indian, settlement there at that time"—were not what he intended to say; and that he either had written to Mr. Draper or intended to write to him, about the matter. Mr. Brisbois also made the same remark to me concerning the words on the same page of the *Collections*—"after the French soldiery who had forted there, had retired;"—and he unhesitatingly signed the certificate to be found in the *History of Crawford County, Wisconsin*, on p. xiii.

[2] But even this is not all of the report, which the reader will understand was simply based, as I have already shown, upon a petition sent in from some of the inhabitants in Prairie du Chien in 1818 to the house of representatives, in Washington. "In the year 1783," adds

The charred remains of that log-house upon the prehistoric earthwork before described, were noticed by the French Canadians, who settled upon the "prairie" the next year, adding much to the appearance of there having been at one time a fort there.[1]

The tradition was still alive in 1820, when "Isaac Lee, Agent of the United States to report upon land titles," who has already been mentioned, visited the "prairie." After gathering all of it (that is, the tradition) bearing upon the subject he could, this is what he says: "The remains of what is commonly called the Old French Fort, are yet [in 1802], very distinguishable. Though capacious and apparently strong, it was probably calculated for defence against musketry and small arms only. None can recollect the time of the erection of this fort; it was far beyond the memory of the oldest; nor can the time of its erection be determined, by any evidence to be obtained."[2] Well, I think not. But this is not all Mr. Lee says—he

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Robertson, "the events of the American Revolution again changed their condition, and on the 1st of June, 1796, the village and fort were formally surrendered by the British to the United States; that many of the petitioners continued their residence and enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity till the capture of the fort by the enemy during the last war [that is, the War of 1812–15]." That Robertson had been hugely imposed upon by the petition sent in from Prairie du Chien, became quickly manifest to the United States agent, in 1820, when he came to take the testimony of the "oldest inhabitants," in Prairie du Chien, as his Report shows.

[1] Dr. Draper, in the Wisconsin State Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. ix, p. 290, note, says: "that Dennis Curtois, who settled at Prairie du Chien in 1791, stated in 1820, that 'the old French fort was burnt the second year of the Revolutionary War.'" What Curtois said, is this: "According to the best information I have been able to obtain from the tradition of the inhabitants at Prairie des Chiens, the old French fort was burned during the second year of the Revolutionary War."

[2] I would here ask Prof. Butler, if the log-house of 1780, was the fort, to please bear in mind that in 1820, Mr. Lee found its "remains" "very distinguishable," that it was very "capacious, and apparently strong;" and that "it was probably calculated for defence against musketry and small arms only." Exactly how all this could be, when the said log-house (Prof. Butler's fort) was burned in 1780, according to the "Brisbois tradition," I will leave for the reader to judge.

adds: "Some difference of opinion seems to exist there [at Prairie du Chien], as to the question whether it was originally built by the French or by the Spanish government." Yet Dr. Butler, upon exactly such tradition as that on which Mr. Lee bases his report as to the fort, says it was certainly a French fort, and Dr. Draper is equally positive that it was erected in 1755.

Accompanying the report of Mr. Lee is the "United States map," I speak of in my paper, read before the Madison Literary Club. It is simply a "Plan of the Settlement at Prairie des Chiens," in 1820, on which is marked the supposed French fort.[1]

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[1] For Mr. Lee's *Report* and accompanying map, see *American State Papers* (Public Lands), vol. iv, p. 867. The reader will, in examining that *Report*, observe that, in the testimony of five or six of the inhabitants, therein given, the French fort is spoken of, as if it then, in 1820, was in existence; but the references, as the context shows, are only to the *spot where* tradition has fixed the location of the supposed fort.

Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin

By Lyman C. Draper

From a sense of duty, rather than in any spirit of controversy, I will proceed to submit a few notes on some of the statements made by Mr. Butterfield, in his preceding paper. While investigating and studying the few points in which I think Mr. Butterfield errs, and which, it seems to me, are important to a proper understanding of the primitive history of Wisconsin, I have ventured to add other matters that struck me as worthy, in this connection, of permanent preservation.

A just elucidation of our true history, so far as we can ascertain it from recorded facts, and reach reasonable deductions, is all I seek. I, too, may err, as even the most faithful investigators are liable to do, for want of full knowledge, or misled by partial, distorted, or erroneous statements. Further historical discoveries by Margry, Parkman, Neill, or others, may yet throw a flood of light on all our doubtful and disputed points; and when they do, we should all readily acknowledge their force.

The First Probable Establishment at Prairie du Chien

Before entering upon the question of the locality of Fort St. Nicholas, it is proper to notice what was apparently a prior establishment at Prairie du Chien, a few years earlier than Perrot's post at that point. In La Salle's letter of August 22, 1682, he complains of the encroachment of Du Luth on the territory expressly assigned him for the purposes of trade. "But the king," he says, "having granted us the trade in buffalo hides, this would be ruined in going to, or coming from, the Nadouesioux, by any other route than by Lake Superior, by which Count Frontenac has

power to send him there in search for beaver, in the pursuance of the authority which he has to grant permits. But if they go by way of the Ouisconsing, where for the present the chase of the buffalo is carried on, and where I have commenced an establishment, they will ruin the trade, of which alone I am laying the foundation, on account of the great number of buffaloes[1] which are taken there every year, almost beyond belief."[2]

La Salle further states in the same letter: "Six weeks afterward, all having returned to the Ouisconsing with the Nadouesioux on a hunt, the R. P. Louis Hennepin, and the Picard, resolved to go *to the mouth of the river*, where I had promised to send messages, as I had done by six men, whom the Jesuits deceived, telling them that R. P. Louis and his fellow travelers had been slain. They allowed them to go there alone." Then La Salle speaks of their being pillaged, because of jealousy, "as they [the Indians] were from different villages, and but few from that where the Frenchmen were to go; they did it in order to secure their portion of the merchandise, of which they feared they would receive none if they once entered the village where the Frenchmen were to go."[3]

It would seem highly probable, that La Salle's establishment at the Wisconsin, was *at the mouth of the river*, where he was so anxious to send messages, no doubt to persons connected with his "establishment," and where Hennepin and his fellow travelers were destined, and it would appear also, that there was an Indian village there at that early period. As the locality of Prairie du Chien was confessedly

[1] Gov. D'Iberville, of Louisiana, suggested, in 1702, that the great Sioux nation be removed to the Missouri country, so as to be more convenient for securing their trade; that, in four or five years, a commerce could be established with them of sixty or eighty thousand buffalo skins. See Neill's *Minnesota*, pp. 171, 172.

[2] Margry's *Découvertes des Français dans l'Amerique*, ii, p. 254; Neill's *Notes on Early Wisconsin Explorations*, etc., in this volume; and Winchell's *Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota*, 1883, p. 12.

[3] Margry ii, pp. 257, 258; Winchell's *Historical Sketch*, p. 14.

the most fitting place for trading purposes of any point in the Wisconsin country, we may well judge, that La Salle, with his long experience and observation, was not slow to fix his trading establishment at that favorite locality, and he deserves the credit of having, in all probability, been the primitive trader at that point, so far as we have any recorded evidence. Whatever he did, however, was not so much in the interest of effecting the settlement of the country, as in securing trade and profit in furs and peltries, which was equally true of all the early traders, with their forts and trading establishments scattered along the lakes and streams of the Northwest.

Perrot's Fort St. Nicholas

Mr. Butterfield states that any old French fort at Prairie du Chien is a myth. If this be so, then nearly all the early map-makers on the Northwest, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the early settlers of Prairie du Chien, dating back over a century, have alike labored under a grave mistake.

The "great map of Franquelin," as Parkman worthily denominates it, of 1684, improved in 1688, together with both D'Anville's and Bellin's, of 1755, Coven's and Mortier's *Amsterdam Atlas,* of 1757, and the *Atlas Moderne* (Paris, 1762), all locate Fort St. Nicholas north of the mouth of the Wisconsin—unquestionably referring to the locality of Prairie du Chien. Bellin's *Atlas* of 1764 again repeats the locality as north of the Wisconsin. In Bellin's published *Remarks,* of 1775, explaining and describing his map, he states: "Nicholas Perrot built a fort at the mouth of the Wisconsin," and his map shows that it was on the northern side. This is certainly a formidable array of authorities, who rank among the ablest cartographers of the past two centuries.

Jefferys, a noted English map publisher and geographer in the time of George Third, has alone been cited as placing Fort St. Nicholas below the mouth of the Wisconsin; but this is doubtful, as Dr. Neill has indicated in the present volume. By a careful examination of Jefferys' Map of North

America, prefixed to his work on the *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominion of North America,* 1760, we find that he placed the legend "Ouisconsin River" on the upper side of the stream at its mouth, and thus filling the space, placed the other legend below—"Fort St. Nicholas destroyed;" but without any indication or mark of the locality of the fort itself. In the text of his work, Jefferys makes no reference whatever to Fort St. Nicholas. So we need not wonder that David Mills, in the first edition of his *Report on the Ontario Boundaries,* 1873, in reproducing Jefferys' map, and finding the old fort unlocated, placed it athwart the Wisconsin River.

But even admitting that Jefferys had really placed Fort St. Nicholas below the mouth of the Wisconsin, he would stand solitary and alone among all those early authorities, and in opposition to all the earlier and more distinguished geographers of the country. Surely, their combined evidence, had such a condition existed, ought far to outweigh his; besides, in their case, the locality of Prairie du Chien is a fitting one, while no suitable spot for such an establishment is found below the mouth for some considerable distance. Had there really been any conflict of statement, those early French cartographers had far better means of procuring correct information about the early French settlements in the West, than an English geographer at a much later period—seventy odd years after Franquelin's time. After all, there is no reliable evidence that Jefferys differed from them.[1]

As Franquelin was the first geographer to give the location and record the name of Fort St. Nicholas, his credibility as a writer may very properly be considered. He was the hydrographer of the king of France, under the patron-

[1] In Neill's first edition of his *History of Minnesota*, p. 138, he fell into two errors in stating that Fort St. Nicholas was established in 1683, before Perrot had yet visited the country, and that it was located below the mouth of the Wisconsin, misled as to location, by an erroneous reprint of Jefferys' map, which mistakes he corrected in later editions of his work. Mills, following Dr. Neill's original statement, committed the same errors in his *Ontario Boundaries*, revised edition, 1877, pp. 14, 15.

age of the government, residing at Quebec—the place of all others, at that period, where he could best meet and interview returning officers, traders, missionaries and explorers from the Great West. Gov. De la Barre, of Canada, commended the first map of Franquelin, not so full as the subsequent one, for the "perfect knowledge" of the region of New France it represented; that he was "as skillful as any in France," and that he was then at work on "a very correct map of the country"—that of 1688, reproduced from tracings of the original in Neill's revised edition of his *History of Minnesota.*

Parkman declares it "a great map—the most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of North America;" and that "La Salle and others of his party undoubtedly supplied the young engineer with materials." Dr. Neill, the able historian of Minnesota, pronounces it "the most complete of the unpublished maps in the French archives," and "an advance on geographical accuracy;" and gives a copy of the tracing of it in his *History of Minnesota.*

Judge C. C. Baldwin, president of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, and author of an interesting monograph on the *Early Maps of Ohio and the West,* writes: "The Franquelin of 1688, is a wonderful map; and I think so afresh every time I look at it. It seems to me, that Franquelin, by his position, ability, care and learning, is the very best authority as to the locality of Fort St. Nicholas." Unstinted praise, on every hand, is accorded to this masterpiece of Northwestern cartology made by Franquelin two centuries ago.

Mr. Butterfield supplied or inspired an article in the Madison *Democrat,* of December 3, 1885, animadverting on Dr. Butler's paper on a French fort at or near Prairie du Chien, and the brief note I appended to it; declaring that these "statements are likely to be all traced back to the same source—La Potherie—who wrote without having seen the country, and without sufficient knowledge of it."

In Mr. Butterfield's article, preceding this paper, he seems to have abandoned this untenable position—untenable, at least, so far as my statements are concerned; and now takes

a juster view of the situation. He says: "If the maps of Franquelin and D'Anville were to be relied on, they prove too much" for him; for they locate Fort St. Nicholas on the east side of the Mississippi, and above the mouth of the Wisconsin. "I must," says Mr. Butterfield, "discredit these maps or lose my case." And so he deliberately goes to work to discredit them, and in a very unique way—at least he thus disposes of Franquelin's map: "Franquelin put his little mark [indicating the locality of Fort St. Nicholas] above the mouth of that river [the Wisconsin], when he should have put it below." No authority is given for this bold statement—a statement which applies with equal force to the other worthy cartographers, who have also placed their "little mark" above the mouth of the Wisconsin, namely: D'Anville, Bellin, Coven, and Mortier, and the author of the *Atlas Moderne*, of 1762. Here, then, we have a mere modern supposition, on the one side, and Franquelin, backed by Gov. La Barre, and several notable geographers, on the other.

"There are physical reasons," says Mr. Butterfield, "why Fort St. Nicholas was not above the Wisconsin;" because, he says, that the prairie which extends up from that stream nearly eight miles, is "sometimes overflowed," and "in no place, is it but little if any above high water mark." To say nothing of the earlier forts which by many are believed to have been located at Prairie du Chien, we need only to advert to the recognized fact, that during the War of 1812–15, the Americans and British in turn maintained a fort there, which our Government re-established in 1816, occupying it continuously, with only a single year's intermission, till 1856—thus showing that a fort did find a foothold there for forty years, until there no longer existed any occasion for one. Mr. Butterfield's *History of Crawford County* may be cited as fully substantiating this statement.

But these "physical reasons" apply with much more force to the region below the mouth of the Wisconsin. In the treaty of 1804 between the Sauks and Foxes and the United States, those tribes conceded to our government the right to establish a military post "at or near the mouth of the Ouisconsing," and "as the land on the lower side of the

river may not be suitable for that purpose," they agreed that such fort might be established either above the mouth of the Wisconsin, or on the opposite side of the Mississippi, as might be found most fitting for the object.

Gen. John H. Rountree, Gov. Nelson Dewey, Hon. Robert Glenn Sr., and Nathaniel W. Kendall, all early settlers of Grant County, Wisconsin, having resided there from forty to sixty years, and long familiar with the region below the mouth of the Wisconsin, unite in declaring, that they have never heard of any tradition or any vestiges of an early post south of the Wisconsin in that quarter; that the country from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the locality of Wyalusing, about four and a half miles, is altogether too low for a suitable locality for a fort, frequently overflowing to the distant bluffs on the east. If, therefore, located below the Wisconsin, it must from necessity have been quite a number of miles from its mouth. Major A. Mackenzie, U. S. engineer, stationed for many years at Rock Island, and superintending the government surveys and improvements on the Upper Mississippi, gives it as his opinion, that "the ground between Prairie du Chien and Wyalusing affords no point suitable for a fort;" and that the site of Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, is the locality to which reference is made as a military point, "at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin."

At a point seven or eight miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, and on a high piece of bottom-land that seldom overflows, many relics have been found, including leaden balls and shot, bits of lead apparently dropped upon the ground in a molten state, together with buttons and silver ornaments. This would seem to have been the locality of an Indian village, or other settlement; but within the past fifteen or twenty years, several rods of this bottom have been washed away, so that where most of these relics were picked up, is now in the channel of the river.[1]

Hon. Horace Beach, an old resident of Prairie du Chien,

[1] Ms. letter of Robert Glenn Jr., of Wyalusing.

and a close antiquarian observer, writes: "The locality of the old French fort at this place is on the first high ground above Wyalusing suitable for such an establishment, and is the first dry prairie that could be reached by boat above that place. The 'Pig's Eye' affords an ample channel from the Mississippi to the main land of sufficient width and depth for the largest river boats, and is the only channel of the kind above Wyalusing, which is about six miles below. Another reason why this place presented a strong claim as a suitable location for a trading-post was, that it was a favorite resort for the Indians, whose relics are to this day found scattered all over the surface of this locality."

But after Mr. Butterfield has, as one would suppose, satisfactorily corrected Franquelin, by venturing to remove the "little mark" from above the mouth of the Wisconsin, to some point below, then he seems dissatisfied with his strange historical and geographical feat, or, perhaps, encouraged by the easiness of the removal—then pushes the "little mark" to a point on the western bank of the Mississippi, twenty French leagues, or forty-eight English miles, as he has it, above the lead mines or Dubuque, and, as he reckons distance, about twelve miles below Prairie du Chien. In fixing this locality for Fort St. Nicholas, strange to say, Mr. Butterfield relies, in part, on La Potherie, whom he had previously declared, "wrote, without having seen the country, and without sufficient knowledge of it;" and, in part, on an unlocated Indian tradition, and for which he gives no authority.

In this case, La Potherie is erroneously credited with the statement, that Fort St. Nicholas was located twenty leagues above the lead mines or Dubuque. In point of fact, La Potherie nowhere mentions the name of Fort St. Nicholas—gives no intimation to warrant that it was situated on the western bank of the Mississippi, and hints nothing about the twenty league locality above the lead mines. It is true, however, that Dr. Butler, on page 60 of this volume, conveys such an idea, which Mr. Butterfield, perhaps, unwittingly followed; but when too late to correct the text, Dr. Butler discovered his error, which is set right in the *errata*—

showing that the lead mines were twenty-one leagues, according to Charlevoix, above the Moingona, or Des Moines River, and nothing whatever is said by La Potherie or Charlevoix as to the distance of Fort St. Nicholas above the lead mines—La Potherie referring to this fort, if at all, only by vague reference, and Charlevoix making no mention of it.

Even had La Potherie stated, as Mr. Butterfield erroneously supposes, that Fort St. Nicholas was twenty leagues above the Dubuque lead mines, it would have been approximately the correct distance to Prairie du Chien. By government survey, as Maj. A. Mackenzie, the U. S. engineer at Rock Island, informs me, it is fifty-seven and a half miles from Dubuque to Prairie du Chien. Webster, Worcester, Chambers, and the *Revised Imperial Dictionary* agree, that in France the common league is about two miles and three-quarters, or literally 2.76, and the legal league, 2.42 statute miles; Chambers' *Cyclopedia* adding that the league of 25 to a degree is 2.76 statute English miles, and this, Dr. Butler informs me, is the common reckoning of the French—or a little over two and three-fourths English miles to a league. According to this reckoning, twenty French leagues would be nearly fifty-six miles.

No man living has paid so much attention to the early French explorations of the Northwest, by long and faithful investigations into original sources, as has Dr. Neill. Mr. Butterfield professes not to be certain that he understands Dr. Neill's meaning when he states, that Fort St. Nicholas was, in his opinion located "*at* Prairie du Chien." If this plain and emphatic language is not sufficiently comprehensible, a mere look at Franquelin's map cannot fail to explain the idea Dr. Neill intended to convey.

It is not clear when Fort St. Nicholas was established. It might have been when Perrot first visited the Wisconsin and Upper Mississippi country, in 1685. Certain it is, that Perrot and Bois-Guillot were "trading near the Mississippi" in 1687;[1] and on Franquelin's map of 1688, we find our first

[1] Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii, p. 280; Neill's *Minnesota*, fourth edition, 1882, p. 141.

certain knowledge of Fort St. Nicholas. When Perrot took formal possession of the Upper Country at Fort St. Antoine, near the foot of Lake Pepin, May 8th, 1689, he especially refers to Bois-Guillot as "commanding the French in the neighborhood of the Wisconsin, on the Mississippi." This designation of Guillot's post by Perrot himself is significant—in the "environs" or neighborhood of the Wisconsin, and not, as Mr. Butterfield supposes, several miles below the Wisconsin, and on the western side of the Mississippi. "In the neighborhood of the Wisconsin," very fittingly describes the locality of Prairie du Chien, where Franquelin and other early cartographers locate Fort St. Nicholas.

How long Fort St. Nicholas existed, we have no means of determining. The last certain knowledge we have of it, Bois-Guillot was still there in May, 1689. It might have been abandoned when Perrot finally left the country in 1692, to take command among the Miamis near Kalamazoo, in Michigan. No mention is made of any fort there by Penicaut when he ascended the Mississippi in 1700—prior to which, according to the early maps of D'Anville, Bellin, and others, it had probably been "destroyed;" but precisely when, or how, are only left to conjecture.

Perrot's Fort Opposite the Lead Mines

The different posts established by Perrot for trading purposes along the Mississippi have doubtless proved somewhat confusing. Three such were erected on and about Lake Pepin, and Fort St. Nicholas, near the mouth of the Wisconsin named in honor of his patron saint. These trading-posts had gradually extended from the Fox River valley to the Wisconsin, and thence into the Sioux country.

If we may credit La Potherie, Perrot located yet another post on the Mississippi. It was below the mouth of the Wisconsin, which would seem to imply that it was on the same or eastern side of the Mississippi. The circumstances which led to its establishment are briefly these: Having served in the war against the Iroquois, Perrot, in the spring of 1690, left Montreal, accompanied by Louvigny and others, with messages and presents for the Indians of the upper country,

with the further purpose of obtaining peltries which he had not in former years, been able to transport to market in consequence of the Iroquois war.[1]

After reaching the Wisconsin country, a delegation of Miami Indians, then residing on the Mississippi, met Perrot, and made him a present, among other things, of a specimen of lead ore, from a "ruisseau"—brook or rivulet—which empties into the Mississippi; and requested him to fix a trading-post for their convenience below the Wisconsin, which he readily promised to do, within twenty days.

Having fulfilled this purpose, Perrot hastened to the Sioux country, and exerted his good offices, backed by government presents, with which he was charged, in bringing about a precarious peace among the hostile Indians in that quarter; and then "returned to the post which *he had recently built.*" [2]

Tailhan and Dr. Neill suggest that this establishment was in the region of Perrot's lead mines, which Charlevoix states were twenty-one leagues above the Moingouna—a great error, if by the Moingouna was meant the Des Moines; for, in point of fact, it is nearly three times that distance from the Des Moines to the Perrot or Dubuque mines. It is well established that the Perrot mines were located twenty leagues below the Wisconsin, as proven by the statement of Penicaut, who ascended the Mississippi in 1700, and by De Lisle's map three years later;[3] and that is the approximate distance from the mouth of the Wisconsin to Dubuque.

La Potherie mentions that the lead at these mines was difficult to obtain, *as it was in rocky crevices.* The earliest mines at Dubuque were worked along Catfish Creek—no doubt the "ruisseau" alluded to by La Potherie—a mile or

[1] Tailhan's *Perrot*, p. 323; New York *Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 470; Neill's *Minnesota*, fourth edition, p. 146; his *Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota*, 1881, p. 33; his *Concise History*, 1887, p. 20; his *Notes on Early Wisconsin Explorations, Forts and Trading Posts*, in this volume, and sketch of Perrot, in *Historical Magazine*, July, 1865.

[2] Charlevoix, fourth edition, 1744, iii, p. 397, 398; Tailhan, *Perrot*, p. 326, 328; sketch of Perrot, in *Historical Magazine*, July, 1865; Neill's *Minnesota*, p. 146, and his *Concise History*, p. 20.

[3] *Margry*, v, p. 412; Neill's *Minnesota*, p. 839, and his *Concise History*, p. 20.

two below that city; and "the simplest form in which lead ore is found in this region is *in the vertical or upright crevice,* from one to three inches in thickness."[1]

La Potherie states that there was a French establishment opposite to the lead mines.[2] The indefinite article before the word establishment shows that a post not before mentioned is meant, otherwise La Potherie would have written "the French establishment," as he does on page 261 of the same volume. So it is clear that it refers to neither of his upper posts previously established. As the Perrot mines at Dubuque seem to have been the one referred to, this new establishment was apparently located at, or a little below, Dunleith, which the venerable Gen. G. W. Jones, of Dubuque, says, in a recent letter, afforded a good position for a trading-post, either on the plateau or on the elevated bluffs in the rear—the latter especially fulfilling La Potherie's description, that it was a "situation very strong against the assaults of neighboring tribes,"[3] should they at any time evince a hostile disposition.

If, as some might suppose, this establishment was located opposite the Galena mines—which Penicaut evidently includes in his reference to Perrot's as "on the right and left" of the Mississippi—still there was a fitting elevation for such a fort equally "strong against assaults," a hundred feet above the river, on the western side, on a commanding rocky point, just above the mouth of Tête des Morts Creek, and some ten or eleven miles below Dubuque.[4]

The fact that the village of the grand chief of the Miamis was but four leagues below this new French establishment,[5] was a good reason for locating it at this place, where it would be convenient for him and his people to barter their furs for the necessaries of which they stood in need, and near the famous lead mines which the Miami leader had taken so

[1] *Historical Atlas of Iowa*, p. 341.

[2] La Potherie, ii, p. 310.

[3] La Potherie, ii, p. 270.

[4] Neill's *Minnesota* (edition 1858), p. 139; MS. letter of A. C. Simpson, surveyor of Jackson County, Iowa.

[5] La Potherie, ii, p. 260.

much pains to bring to Perrot's notice. Very likely the grand chief, and perhaps Perrot as well, felt impressed with the importance of the lead mines as a place of future resort and commerce alike to the red man and the white. Wherever the enterprising traders penetrated with their French "fusils"—so great an improvement on the ancient bow and arrow—a constant demand was necessarily created for lead. Thus, it will be seen, that this locality opposite the Dubuque lead mines was a most suitable one for a trading establishment made at the instance of the grand chief of the Miamis. These Miamis seem to have made frequent removals; for, not very long thereafter, we find a hundred of them "on the Wisconsin," while the rest had gone to the Chicago country, on account of the beaver.[1]

That this *"new fort,"* made by Perrot below the Wisconsin, in 1690, was not Fort St. Nicholas, is sufficiently evident from the fact, that this latter post is indicated as in existence at least two years earlier, as proven by Franquelin's map of 1688, and by the fact that it was represented by its commandant, Bois-Guillot, a year before the founding of this new establishment, at Perrot's notable ceremony of taking possession of the Upper Mississippi country, at Fort St. Antoine, near the foot of Lake Pepin, in May, 1689.

Second French Fort at Prairie du Chien

While the date of the first permanent French settlement at Prairie du Chien is clouded with uncertainty, it may be mentioned, in this connection, that the time of the location of the Fox Indians there—including, no doubt, the Des Chiens family among them—can be more readily determined. Carver, who visited this region in 1766, states that he learned from the Indians, that about thirty years before his visit, they were located in a large town, in a pleasant situation on the Wisconsin, about five miles above its mouth—apparently at what is now Wright's Ferry, the ruins of which old settlement the Captain saw. Here the Indians had, or thought they had, a warning from the Great Spirit, to quit their habitations. They then removed to what is

[1] Neill's *Concise History*, p. 22, note.

now Prairie du Chien, where Carver found about three hundred families, in well-built houses, pleasantly situated on very rich soil; that the town, he says, was "the great mart" for Indian trade—where the traders had their quarters and goods, with which to carry on with the adjacent tribes, the gainful commerce in which they were engaged. This would fix the time of the settlement of the Fox Indians at Prairie du Chien, about 1736, or nineteen years before the old French fort is said to have been established there.

Mr. Butterfield lays much stress on the fact, that because Carver does not mention having seen a fort at Prairie du Chien when there in 1766, there could, therefore, have been nothing of the kind. There were large and interesting prehistoric works in all that region to which Mr. Butterfield abundantly testifies; so it would hardly do to boldly and defiantly ignore these numerous remains, simply because Carver failed to notice them, though he mentions in the Lake Pepin region, with much apparent interest, similar prehistoric structures of "great antiquity," but without any "visible ditch."

In Carver's time, the old fort at Prairie du Chien had probably gone into both disuse and decay; and the palisades even may have disappeared; but the probabilities are that the traders then occupied some of the remaining tenements, or had, at least, erected "a log building" there, for trading and storage purposes. Carver states, that Prairie du Chien was a great trading mart for an extensive region; but he does not go into details, and note the tenements used by the traders in carrying on their business operations. And yet they must have had at least one building, if not more, for the protection and display of their goods, and storage of their furs and peltries. Such a trading point would very naturally form around it the nucleus of a settlement of voyageurs and hangers-on generally, with their Indian wives and progeny. Such was the natural result at Old Mackinaw, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Green Bay, and other noted trading-posts.

Carver does not, in his *Travels*, mention the interesting fact, that there was, at that day, a Lower Town of Prairie du Chien; which, however, he notes on his map accompany-

ing his work, with the mark indicating an Indian village just below it. This suggests and implies, that there must have been an Upper Town as early as 1766; and, as all the traditions corroborate Carver's locality of the Indian village below the Lower Town, it would seem to indicate that the Upper Town had become an extension of the Old French settlement, though very likely a small one at that period.

Hon. David Mills, an able writer on our early Northwestern settlements, asserts that the French settled at Prairie du Chien before 1730.[1] He cites no authority, and is not now living to inform us as to his source of information; but we suspect, as he elsewhere cites our Society's *Collections,* that he adopted Dr. Brunson's views based on the traditions of the early settlement of the Cardinal family, of the extreme antiquity of which we have expressed our doubts in volume ix of our Society's *Collections.*

Judge James H. Lockwood, it may be added, who located at Prairie du Chien in 1816, regarded the ancient establishment there as a trading-post, with a stockade around its dwellings for protection against the Indians, and dating back to about 1737—which would have been just after the Fox Indians located there.[2] As Mrs. Cardinal lived some eleven years after Judge Lockwood's settlement there, he probably formed his opinion from her statements.[3]

With reference to the French fort said to have been established at Prairie du Chien in 1755, our chief sources of information at present, are the report of Judge Robertson in Congress, Feb. 25, 1818; Col. Isaac Lee's report on the Prairie du Chien land claims, together with the allegations of old settlers appended to Lee's document, and the uniform

[1] *Report on the Ontario* (or Canadian) *Boundaries* (Toronto, 1877), p. 21.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Collections,* ii, p. 114.

[3] Mr. Butterfield supposes that Mrs. Cardinal referred to the great flood of 1785, as fixing the time of the advent of herself and family to Prairie du Chien. This is highly improbable, as by the statement of B. W. Brisbois both to me and the late Dr. Brunson, the Cardinals were certainly located at Prairie du Chien when the elder Brisbois settled there in 1781; and, according to Col. Brisbois and Charles Ménard's tradition, Mrs. Cardinal was a witness of Capt. Long's removal of the fur deposits from the old trading-post, in June, 1780.

traditions of their successors, extending back over a century; while the remains of the old fort itself, are still pointed out to attest the tradition of its ancient existence.

It is proper, in this connection, to advert to the trustworthiness of the Hon. George Robertson, who made the report to Congress, in 1818, stating that, "in the year 1755, the government of France, established a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin; that many French families settled themselves in the neighborhood, and established the village of Prairie du Chien." He was a representative in Congress from Kentucky, from 1817 to 1821; four years speaker of the legislature of that State, secretary of state, judge of the court of appeals, fifteen years chief justice of Kentucky, and twenty-three years professor of law in the Kentucky Transylvania University, declining many offices of high public trust, including that of governor and attorney-general of his State, four times refusing a proffered seat in the federal cabinet, twice a seat in the supreme court of the United States, and two diplomatic appointments. These honored positions, covering a period of nearly half a century, together with his many legal opinions, and his volume on *Law, Politics, Men, and Times of Kentucky*, sufficiently attest his prominence and ability, and in the language of the historian of Kentucky, "evince at once depth of thought, laborious research, accurate discrimination, and sound philosophy." Judge Robertson died, full of honors and years, in 1874. We may well judge, that so able and scholarly a man, was careful in writing his report, to state nothing but what seemed to him well attested facts. The petition of the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien, upon which Judge Robertson's report was based, appears unfortunately to have been lost.

Col. Lee, of Michigan, who served with distinction on the Mississinewa campaign, and on other occasions during the War of 1812, as well as in public positions in civil life, states in his report in October, 1820, that "among the most aged of the inhabitants of the Prairie, none could be found who could recollect, or who had any knowledge of the first establishment of the French there, nor could any satisfactory

account be obtained by any traditions among them touching this point. The remains of what is commonly called the *old French fort,* are yet very distinguishable. Though capacious and apparently strong, it was probably calculated for defence against musketry and small arms only. None can recollect the time of the erection of this fort—*it was far beyond the memory of the oldest;* nor can the time of its erection be determined by any evidence to be obtained. Some difference of opinion seems to exist there as to the question, whether it was originally built by the French or by the Spanish government. *It is evidently very ancient."*

Among "the most aged" of the Prairie du Chien people whom Col. Lee most likely consulted, was Michael Brisbois, who settled there, as he states, in 1781; Dennis Curtois, in 1791; Joseph Crélié as early or earlier, and the venerable widow of Jean Marie Cardinal, at this time, apparently, the widow of her former Indian servant, Nicholas Colas, who had accompanied Cardinal and wife when they first settled at Prairie du Chien, at a very uncertain date, but clearly sometime anterior to the advent of Capt. Long, in 1780, and of Michael Brisbois the following year. Had Madame Cardinal, with her husband and servant, been the very first white settlers there, Col. Lee, who was instituting inquiries on this very point, would have readily learned the fact from her and her long-time neighbors; but as Col. Lee asserts, none could tell when the French first settled there—*"it was,"* he adds, *"far beyond the memory of the oldest,"* and Mrs. Cardinal had the undoubted reputation of being the oldest surviving settler. This would imply an earlier settlement than the Cardinal's, and an earlier one than Brisbois' in 1781; and it would, too, seem to suggest, that there must have been, in addition to traders, at least some scattered settlers there at the time of Carver's visit in 1766, and Capt. Long's in 1780, though not of sufficient numbers to have elicited any special notice. According to the tradition of Joseph Rolette and Charles Ménard, Mrs. Cardinal at least witnessed the affair of Capt. Long, which fact was derived from Mrs. Cardinal herself.

We should bear in mind that Col. Lee's object was not

primarily to gain information about the old French fort, but to adjust the land claims of the settlers; and the inquiry about the old fort was merely a secondary consideration, if even so much as that. He evidently refers to the old fort and its apparent antiquity, as evidence that an early settlement had naturally grown up around it; and he adverts to it briefly in his report, as embodying the indefinite ideas of the ancient people concerning the period of its establishment. Mr. Brisbois, therefore, in his separate statement, did not deem it necessary to repeat what he had, apparently, already communicated to Col. Lee, and which he invariably spoke of to his son, the late Col. B. W. Brisbois, as "the old French fort."

Nor does Dennis Curtois, who settled at Prairie du Chien in 1791, repeat in his deposition, anything he may have related to Col. Lee about the origin of the old fort, but adds: "According to the best information he had been able to obtain from the tradition of the inhabitants at Prairie des Chien, the old French fort was burned during the second year of the Revolutionary War." This plainly implies, that some "inhabitants" were there when Capt. Long made his visit in 1780; and, having witnessed his operations, could narrate the story of the burning. The old fort, at this period, may have had but a single log-house remaining; and this appears from the statements of Long, Curtois, and B. W. Brisbois' tradition from his father, to have been burned by Long's party, not in the second year of the Revolutionary War, as Curtois erroneously supposed, but in June, 1780, when Long was sent there with a party to convey to Mackinaw the packs of traders' furs deposited there under the protection of Capt. Langlade, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Spaniards of St. Louis, or of the Americans at Cahokia.

There are some historical references that go to strengthen the statements of Judge Robertson, Col. Lee, Brisbois, and others. While Gen. St. Clair was governor of the Northwest Territory, he reported to President Washington, in 1790, the condition of the extensive region over which he was called to administer; and stated of Prairie du Chien,

what he had undoubtedly learned from its most intelligent citizens: "At that place was *a considerable town while the country was in the hands of the French.* It has gone to ruin." According to this statement, there was quite a town there while the Northwest was yet in possession of the French—that is, prior to the peace of 1763, when the whole country not already given up, was surrendered to the English; but the old French settlement, at the Lower Town, had gone to decay. Gen. Pike, when he visited Prairie du Chien, in 1805, after mentioning the settlement of Giard, Antaya, and others, in 1783, as he says, but which was really two years earlier, adds: "The *old village* is about a mile below the present one, and, *had existed during the time the French were possessed of the country;*" and Schoolcraft, who was there in 1820, makes substantially the same statement. Lapham, referring to the surrender of the Wisconsin country to Great Britain at the peace of 1763, declares that "Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were then the only posts occupied within our limits;" and repeating substantially what St. Clair, Pike and Schoolcraft have asserted that "the old town" was more ancient than the settlement of Giard and party in 1781, adds: "It is one of the oldest of the French settlements or trading-posts."[1]

St. Clair, Pike, and others testify to the existence of an old French settlement at Prairie du Chien prior to the transfer of the country to the English at the peace of 1763, which Carver recognizes on his map of 1766; and not merely the statements of Judge Robertson and Col. Lee, based on the traditions of the ancient settlers, but the remains of the old fort itself, yet to be seen, attest the fact, that it was located in the neighborhood of the old French village. Thus the history, the facts, and the traditions, all happily combine to corroborate each other.

Hon. Morgan L. Martin, whose early visits to Prairie du Chien commenced some sixty years ago, stated, in 1851, that

[1] *St. Clair Papers*, ii, p. 175; Pike's *Travels*, appendix, part 1, p. 46; Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal*, p. 338; Lapham's *Wisconsin*, pp. 22, 194.

"Prairie du Chien is known to possess the remains of an ancient fortification, coeval, at least, with the occupation of the mouth of the Fox River; but whether erected under French or Spanish authority, seems to be a matter of doubt. * * * It is extremely probable, that it was the habitation of some of the numerous French traders, who resorted to the Mississippi immediately after its discovery."[1] Rev. Dr. Brunson, in a paper written in 1858, when he had been twenty-two years a resident of Prairie du Chien, states, that "the first fort or trading-post was built just below the site of the present railroad depot."[2]

It will thus be seen, that Gov. St. Clair and Gen. Pike, to say nothing of the others, learned substantially the same facts about a settlement at Prairie du Chien during the period of the French occupation of the country—Pike placing it about a mile below the locality of the village in 1805, which would point to the place where we now find the remains of the old fort. Here then is corroborative evidence—if not strictly about the old fort itself, yet of an ancient settlement or village at the very spot where the old fort is found. In those early times, wherever a settlement was formed on the frontiers, the apprehension of an Indian outbreak was the constant fear of the pioneers by day, and their fitful dream by night; so that wherever a settlement was made, a protecting fort was found there also—they were necessarily "one and inseparable."

Among the most intelligent of the old residents of Prairie du Chien, who mingled with a still earlier class—Col. B. W. Brisbois, Judge James H. Lockwood, H. L. Dousman Sr., Hon. Ira B. Brunson, Hon. O. B. Thomas, Gen. John Lawler, Samuel A. Clark, John H. Folsom, and Hon. Horace Beach, all credit the tradition of the old French fort. Col. Isaac Lee, and Hon. Lucius Lyon, who was subsequently a member from Michigan of both houses of Congress, have in their respective maps of 1820 and 1828 noted the existence and locality of "the old French fort." No early resident of the Prairie,

[1] Address before the Wisconsin Hist. Society, Jan. 21, 1851, p. 19.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Collections*, iv, p. 250.

that we have ever heard of, doubted for a moment the general correctness of this ancient tradition.

A little distance east of the old fort is an old well, marked on Lyon's map of 1828, "military well," which must have been used by the early dwellers in this old fortress. Hon. Horace Beach states, that it is now about a dozen feet deep, and thinks it could not have been the work of the mound-builders, as they located along the streams for their water supply. Mr. S. A. Clark says, when he first saw this well, nearly fifty years ago, there was a tree growing out of it from sixteen to twenty inches in diameter; that the well appeared to have been originally curbed up with pieces of timber to keep out the sand, and as these decayed, the well must have partially filled up.

Col. B. W. Brisbois' statement:—In December, 1882, I visited Col. Brisbois with a single view of obtaining his recollections and traditions with reference to the early settlement and pioneer settlers of Prairie du Chien. I had no purpose, and made no effort whatever, to warp or misrepresent his opinions; and when I had hurriedly noted them down, I carefully read them over to him for any corrections or further suggestions. He gave them his approval as correct. After their appearance in the 9th volume of our *Collections,* he wrote, stating that I had misunderstood him with reference to one of his Winnebago connections, and in no other particular whatever—not a word with reference to his views of the old French fort as being misrepresented. What he said to me, and approved when put to paper and read over to him, was this:

"The old French fort was at what is now the Lower Town, a mile and a half from the court-house, and where the old Indian town was located about where the College now is. My father, M. Brisbois Sr., used to say, that the fort was built by the Canadian traders; it was about where the round-house and yard are in the Lower Town. Occasionally the Spanish would send up a gun-boat to seize all furs and peltries, as British property secured on Spanish territory, without Spanish license or permission. Learning that the Spanish were coming, the traders at Prairie du Chien

sent their furs and property to Mackinaw, and burned the fort. No idea as to the size of the fort; the traders burned up the remainder of the deer peltries, and the least valuable furs, which they could not carry away. Thinks certainly there was a French and Indian settlement here then. Insists that it was Spanish, not Americans, whom the traders feared. A former American invasion did not get so high up; but had heard of a large accumulation of furs at Prairie du Chien."

I wrote out, more systematically, Mr. Brisbois' "Recollections and Traditions," immediately after taking them down from his lips; and, as the caption of the paper shows, made such "notes and annotations," in connecting and explaining his statements, as seemed necessary, without intending to add to or embellish his views in any particular. I included some few facts which he stated, not noted, from memory; only one of which I may, perhaps, have misunderstood—where the remark is made, on the strength of what he learned from his father, Mrs. Cardinal and Colas, that it was "after the French soldiery, who had forted there, had retired," that the Cardinals settled in the country. The idea was plainly conveyed, that it was after this old fort had been abandoned by its original occupants, whether soldiers or traders, that the Cardinal party made their advent to Prairie du Chien. Whether Col. Brisbois made use of the words "French soldiery" or not, there was no necessity for using them; it was done hurriedly, and without any design of misstatement; and was simply intended to convey the idea, that it was after the first occupants of the old fort, whoever they were, had retired, the Cardinals came and settled on the Prairie.

However this may be, it has very little to do with the main questions at issue touching the old fort—whether it was of French origin, or was constructed by the mound-builders. Col. Brisbois has stated not only to me, but to several others, that his father as well as himself, fully believed, that the old fort was built by French-Canadian traders. The evidences on this head are too strong to be successfully controverted.

Mr. Butterfield speaks somewhat triumphantly of the fact, that some fourteen months after Col. Brisbois had made his statement to me, he signed the certificate endorsing the *History of Crawford County,* in which the old fort is pronounced "a myth," and simply the work of the mound-builders. Many petitions are signed without examination; and very likely Col. Brisbois, in his feeble old age, and with his confiding character, signed the certificate without knowing what was stated in the work as to the assertion and reasonings that it was merely the production of the mound-builders. It is idle to say that Col. Brisbois ever cherished or expressed such an opinion.

It is not enough that Mr. Butterfield should call in question my representation of Col. Brisbois' settled belief, that the old fort at Prairie du Chien was of French origin; but he must also disprove the statements corroborating mine, of Charles Ménard, Hon. O. B. Thomas, Gen. John Lawler, Samuel A. Clark, John H. Folsom, and Hon. Horace Beach, all old residents of Prairie du Chien, and men of unimpeachable reputation.

Charles Ménard's statement:—States, through John H. Folsom, that he was born at Prairie du Chien, and has lived all his life there and in that vicinity, and is now over eighty years old. Knew Mrs. Cardinal as far back as he can remember, who was then an old woman. I remember hearing her say to my mother, that a party from Mackinaw carried off a portion of the traders' furs, deposited in the storehouse at the old fort, and burning what they could not carry away; and Mrs. Cardinal said, that she was then living at Prairie du Chien, and witnessed this affair.

I do not remember anything definite of Mrs. Cardinal speaking of the length of time she had been residing at Prairie du Chien before this fur affair, nor whether there were other settlers there when she came. She spoke, I think, of Capt. Langlade, but the particulars have escaped me.

Mrs. Cardinal, and other old settlers, always claimed that the old fort was built by French traders, and not by the mound-builders; and I have heard Col. Brisbois make the

same statement. I do not remember any evidences of bastions or block-houses.

Judge Ira B. Brunson's statement:—The old French fort is located on the front or west end of farm-lot number thirty-nine, and about 200 feet from a bayou of the Mississippi, which is navigable only by canoes in low water. I have just visited the ground where the old fort stood, accompanied by S. A. Clark, who built his dwelling-house within its ancient ramparts, about forty years ago; and, in building, he used the stones with which the old fire-places and chimneys were constructed. The stockade ditches on the east and north sides are still very distinct, not having been disturbed by cultivation. The fort proper was small, but was surrounded by a sort of palisade, enclosing nearly two acres, as I traced the trench on the east side 370 feet, in a very distinct and straight line. The stone chimneys or fire-places were laid up with clay, no appearance of lime having been used. Mr. Clark noticed the clay when he removed the stone. I lately visited the old fort locality in company with Col. Brisbois and Mr. Clark; and, after a thorough examination of the surroundings, and the map and notes of Lyon, Col. Brisbois very reluctantly conceded that he has entertained an erroneous notion as to the locality of this old landmark, of which Mr. Clark and I had no doubt—he supposing it was in the region of the railroad round-house and shops, where there are no old fort or military remains.

Samuel A. Clark's statement:—I came to Prairie du Chien June 19th, 1838. There was then a man residing in the Lower Town of the name of Brimmer, an Englishman, who had the only framed building in that part of the village. He said to me that he was on the spot where the old French fort or trading-post was located, and showed me the old stone that were used for the fire-places. The stone gave evidence that they had been used around fire, and the place had the appearance of having been the site of an old fashioned stick chimney, plastered with such clay as is found about a mile and a half from there in the bluff. It had the appearance of having been burned down; there was

no wood to be seen, and the clay lay on top of the rock. I think there were three or four of these chimney piles. He then showed me the size of the enclosure, which was distinctly marked, and can yet be seen for some distance. A few years since, I showed the same to Ira B. Brunson and B. W. Brisbois, and after telling them where certain trees stood, and other landmarks, they were satisfied I was correct.

I have often heard Col. B. W. Brisbois speak of the old fort, and he always carried the idea to me, that it was the work of the early French traders.

From the northeast corner of the old fortification, the north wall or embankment extends towards the bayou or river, about at right angles, some 200 feet. The locality of the chimneys extended from north to south in a row, and about in the central portion of the enclosure. There were two small mounds, perhaps one hundred and fifty feet apart, one south of the other, also nearly in the center of the enclosure, and hence not near any of the outward walls. The house built in 1836, and repaired by me in 1843, was a little south of the northern mound. These mounds were so small as scarcely to deserve the name. The southernmost of the four chimney remains, was on the locality of the southern mound. Where the southern line of the enclosure extended, is now, and has long been, a plowed field.

After a few years, I bought the Brimmer building, and fitted it up for a dwelling, and lived in it from 1843 till 1857. I used the stone and clay, the remains of the old chimneys, to put around my house. I think there were a few pieces of pottery found about the chimneys—the only marks of civilization I can recall. The whole had the appearance, to me, of a wooden palisade—I could see the depressions made by the decaying of the stockade posts. I think the buildings were burned, and the barricade or picketing became extinct by the ravages of time.

There is no foundation for the theory that this structure was the work of the mound-builders. The remains of those prehistoric people are most distinct to any observing person; there were several of those mounds in the neighborhood of this structure, but they presented a more ancient appearance.

Statement of John H. Folsom:—Joseph Rolette and Dennis Curtois often talked to me with regard to this old French fort. Rolette mentioned that a party came here, and carried off all the furs they could, and burned the remainder. He also informed me that Mrs. Cardinal witnessed this affair of Capt. Long; and my recollection is, that Rolette said he received the information directly from Mrs. Cardinal herself.[1] I remember hearing a conversation, in 1837, about this old fort, between Judge Lockwood, Judge Lawe, and Lewis Rouse, all old Indian traders, who talked about Long's operations in removing the better portion of the furs and peltries, burning the balance and the building used by the traders, and perhaps the stockade with it.

At that early period, fifty years ago, there were evidences of the old fort not now discernible—the clay that closed the cracks between the logs, and signs that at least a portion of the building had been banked up; and the tops of the old picketing could still be seen near the surface along the ramparts. For three or four months, in 1840, I lived a little way below the southwest corner, and frequently viewed these ancient remains.

This old Pig's Eye fort was probably designed for trading purposes, having a store-house for storing furs and outfits for traders, and, when necessary, guarded by a company of men in the long ago, probably before the Revolutionary War. Outside of this building, it is my opinion, the enclosure was used for a garden; and the whole designed for military purposes in emergencies. All early frontier settlements had their principal residences palisaded. Rolette's, Fisher's, and Lockwood's were all thus protected, so as to resist Indian attacks. In early times, as I understood, the village of the Sauks and Foxes was a little below this old fort.

Viewing recently the old fort locality in company with S. A. Clark, I am satisfied that where he points out as the northeast corner is correct; and so, probably, is the measurement of the east embankment by the late Judge Brunson,

[1] Rolette no doubt learned this fact from Mrs. Cardinal, he having settled at Prairie du Chien twenty-three years before her death.

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as about three hundred and seventy feet in length. The southern end of this east line, perhaps thirty to fifty feet, has been leveled down by many years' plowing. Mr. Clark and I measured west from the northeast corner, and found of the north line about three hundred feet, and thence to the water was a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet. The embankment is about two feet above the level of the ground. Mr. Clark pointed out to me, as he has in his statement to the Historical Society, the situation of the old mounds. I recollected nothing of them; they might have been mounds. Fifty years ago there was a ditch outside the embankments, and where the old pickets were. The earth was probably taken from the outside, and thrown against the pickets. There are now no indications of any entrance or sally-port, nor bastions or block-houses on the corners. All the early settlers, Mr. Curtois, Col. B. W. Brisbois and others, claimed that the old fort was built by the French; and Rolette used in some way to connect the Spanish with it—perhaps that it was intended to resist their approaches. It fronted the Pig's Eye bayou.

I have spoken of Mr. Curtois. He had five daughters. I may add, that the Rev. Alfred Brunson took much pains to ascertain Mrs. Cardinal's great age—she was a centenarian—and to fix the time when she settled here.

Gen. John Lawler's statement:—The old French fort was located on a spot in Lower Town of Prairie du Chien, about a mile south of the present court-house, at a point on the Mississippi known and designated by the classic and euphoneous name of Pig's Eye, through which steamers passed until 1864, when the business was transferred to the Upper Town, which left the "Eye" to repose in its primitive undisturbed beauty.

I pretty distinctly call to mind, that the old settlers, Col. Brisbois included, gave no credit to the mound-builders for constructing the old fort. The fort was the work of the French.

Hon. O. B. Thomas, who represents this district in Congress, whose residence here dates back to early boyhood, is thoroughly familiar with the legends, traditions and folk-

lore of this historic old treasure trove, and can tell all about it.

Hon. O. B. Thomas' statement:—Ever since I can remember, the old military remains you inquired about, have been called "the old French fort," though some insist that it was a Spanish structure. If we take tradition as our guide, there is no more question as to its having been a fort, than there is about Fort Crawford having been erected for military purposes. I have never heard a doubt expressed by the old settlers, that what is known as the old French fort was designed by the whites as a fort for defensive purposes. The late Col. H. L. Dousman Sr., John H. Fonda, B. W. Brisbois, and all the old French inhabitants, spoke of it as a fort, and the most of them, as a fort erected by the French. Col. Isaac Lee's statement, and the affidavits of the old settlers, taken by him in 1820, found in the fourth volume of the *American State Papers,* represent the tradition as I have heard it all my life. This old fort was located near the bank of the Mississippi, on the west of the present highway, and on the west end of farm lot No. 39, in what is now called Lower Town.

Mr. S. A. Clark showed me where, in an early day, he dug up rock on this ground to use in building, which were limestone, such as are found in the bluffs. These rocks were burned, or had the appearance of having been used in a fire-place and chimney; he found three such places. He thought the rampart was where the stockade was, and there appears to have been an *outer ditch* or *fosse*. Messrs. Brunson and Clark are correct as to the location of the old fort.

I went over the ground with Mr. Clark, who showed me the old lines, or so much of them as can now be seen. The east line is quite distinct; the west line, near the river, has been obliterated by cultivation and the construction of the railroad; the line on the north has, in many places, been destroyed by the plow, and the line on the south is entirely gone, being now in a cultivated field. The highway from the Upper to the Lower Town, used for many years, and which I can trace back fifty years or more by the old people, was where it now is, immediately east of the old fort.

What I designate as the east line, is quite distinct. It is a slight elevation which can be traced on that side, running northerly and southerly. It must have been three or four hundred feet long; part of this on the south end, runs into a plowed field, so that I think its exact length cannot now be stated from actual measurement. Judge Brunson is probably correct in stating the length to be about 370 feet. On the *outside,* or eastern side of this elevation, is a depression, which is now very slight; but there is no depression or ditch on the inside—what might appear at first as such is evidently caused by the difference between the elevation and level ground. The elevation was, it appears to me, made by the earth taken from this ditch or depression on the outside.

It must be remembered, that all these appearances are not now as distinct as they were thirty, forty or fifty years ago. The prairie is composed of a deep bed of sand, supposed to be over a hundred feet in thickness, covered with but a slight sod of prairie grass, easily effected by time. It is to me a great wonder, that there is any appearance of trench or wall left. The north side elevation or wall is not as observable as that on the east; still it may yet be traced from the northeast corner towards the river; but, as before stated, it has been destroyed in many places.

There are no absolute indications of a bastion at the northeast corner, though tradition is not wanting to show that there were rude block-houses or bastions at each of the four corners. The enclosure was probably nearly square, as there is much more than enough room for it between the river and the eastern line. Judge Brunson's statement about the old fort extending to within 200 feet of the river, it seems to me, is a mistake. I should think it was nearer, though it might be so, if we suppose the fort, or enclosure was an oblong in shape.[1]

The places where Mr. Clark indicated by the old rocks

[1] On Col. Lee's map of 1820, the old fort is represented as square in form; while on Lyon's map of 1828, it is given as somewhat oblong in shape, fronting the river lengthwise, and in both cases, regular bastions are shown at each corner. L. C. D.

and clay, as the locality of the old fire-places, were about the center of the ground from north to south, and also about centrally located from east to west, if the enclosure by its walls and trenches was about 370 feet each way—in other words a square. This is simply my judgment; if Messrs. Clark, Folsom, and others give you the exact measurement, that will be more reliable.

The river opposite the site of the supposed fort has been called a bayou; but it is really the Mississippi River, and is the first place on the bank, after leaving the mouth of the Wisconsin, where a boat of any kind could land on the prairie; and both the bank and landing-place are as good as could be desired.

There are no mounds that I am able to discover near the supposed wall or embankment. There are many mounds on the prairie, and several places that look as though mounds that once existed within the enclosure, had been leveled so as hardly to be distinguished, and I am unable to see that the supposed ramparts have any connection whatever with these mounds. There was a very large mound on the site of Fort Crawford.

In my opinion, this old fort, conceding that it was a fort, was designed as a defense against Indians; the buildings being probably of logs, and, as a further protection, having a sort of palisade, or row of posts, set firm in the ground, with a ditch on the *outside*, and probably rude bastions on each corner. Thus, I think, you get all there ever was of "the old French fort."

Hon. Horace Beach's statement: —It seems quite certain that there was a stockade fort on S. A. Clark's old homestead, on farm lot No. 39, near the Mississippi. Tradition says it was built by some adventurous Frenchmen for purposes of Indian trade; Col. B. W. Brisbois, among others, made this statement. That the Spanish governor of St. Louis, apprised of this trade, concluded to send a detachment of men to seize the furs and destroy the stockade; learning of this intended movement by some friendly Indians, the traders hastily loaded their best furs into boats, setting fire to the stockade, and burning all that could not be carried

away, and escaped up the Wisconsin. This I learned from B. W. Brisbois.

The stockade was built near the bank of the river, which afforded plenty of water, with springs along its banks. In company with S. A. Clark, I have examined the site of the supposed old French fort. Not much is left to indicate its exact locality. Mr. Clark informs me, that when he occupied the ground, nearly fifty years ago, there was some evidence of a fort and stockade; that there were ruins of three or four stone chimneys or fire-places, in a straight line from north to south, and laid up with clay mortar; that the stone of these chimneys remains, which showed evidence of contact with fire, and which he used in making improvements about his house. The rampart or wall, I should judge, was about 350 to 375 feet, as pointed out by Mr. Clark, on the eastern side.

This old fort was located a little below the Pig's Eye—this Pig's Eye bayou is the first and only opening from the main channel of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Wisconsin. It was a very natural and convenient locality for a fort. What appears to have been a ditch and embankment surrounding a parallelogram is still to be seen; but no vestige of any remaining palisades. The ground is not now enclosed, but appears to have been plowed. I hardly think plowing up against fences would have thrown up such an embankment as now exists. The eastern embankment or fosse is, in some places, from twenty inches to two feet higher than the prairie outside; and, in some places, there appears to have been a ditch outside, but distinct evidence of the ditch is not now very satisfactory.

As to mounds, there are no vestiges of any inside of the old fort enclosure. About two hundred feet north of the north embankment, there is slight evidence of mounds, which, if they ever existed, have been mostly obliterated. Mound works are very common, and exist all over this prairie.

Thus we have a uniform and unbroken line of tradition of this old French fort at Prairie du Chien, for over a cen-

tury, and not one of the early settlers ever questioning or doubting it; while no solitary tradition can be cited, nor any fort remains pointed out at any point, within reasonable distance, below the Wisconsin.

The Old Fort not the Work of the Mound-Builders

Mr. Butterfield, in the preceding paper, as well as in his *History of Crawford County*, attempts to account for the old French fort by boldly declaring that it was no French fort at all, but simply the work of the mound-builders. He cites no authority to sustain his opinion, save a palpable misconstruction of Long's *Travels*, and Snyder and VanVechten's *Historical Atlas of Wisconsin*, of which latter work he himself was the principal writer, and doubtless prepared the very statement to which he now refers to strengthen his position.

Col. Isaac Lee, an officer who had seen much service during the War of 1812, unhesitatingly pronounced it, in 1820, a military structure of the French, as did Hon. Lucius Lyon a few years later; and both marked upon their respective maps, a fortress with bastions at each corner, and denominated it "the old French fort." Rev. Dr. Alfred Brunson states, in our Society's fourth volume of *Collections*, that Crawford County, in which Prairie du Chien is situated, was very prolific in remains of the mound-builders, having at least five hundred of those interesting tumuli within its borders, of which a hundred could be found in the towns of Prairie du Chien and Wauzeka alone. The old settlers of Prairie du Chien were familiar with these prehistoric remains—some of which were from ten to twenty feet in height; and neither Dr. Brunson nor any others of the old settlers ever regarded "the old French fort" as ranking in that class of antiquities.

In Squier and Davis's *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, the opinion is expressed, and cited with approval in Dr. Foster's able work on the *Pre-Historic Races*, that among the mound-builders there seems to have existed a great defensive line, or system of defences, extending from the sources of the Alleghany and Susquehanna,

in New York, diagonally through central and northern Ohio, to the Wabash. These works, regarded as defensive, are the largest and most numerous in the country. Here the trenches are on the *outside* of the parapet; while in most of the other works, where there are any trenches at all, they are on the *inside*—perhaps excavated for the material with which to construct the parapets, and which class Dr. Foster regards as sacred enclosures.[1] Bishop Madison, an early and able writer on American antiquities, declares that the ditch is found *inside* the walls of nearly all the remains to be traced in his day.

Wisconsin was no exception to this general rule—that the great line of contest and defence in prehistoric times extended from western New York to the Wabash. Remote from those scenes, the character of our ancient remains go to corroborate the idea, that their early occupants were not a warlike people. Dr. Brunson remarks that "while in Ohio the most prominent of these tumuli were forts or fortifications, in Wisconsin but few of that description are found;" and he adds, "I can now call to mind but one such, that at Aztalan."[2] This exception is an error; for Squier and Davis, Dr. Lapham, and Dr. Foster, unite in declaring that the works at Aztalan were not built for defensive purposes, having no ditches, and completely commanded from the summit of a ridge, extending along the west side, much higher than the west walls themselves, and within fair arrow shot. Judge Gale remarks, that "Wisconsin can scarcely dignify any of her old earth-works into fortifications," and adds, that there is no probability that Aztalan is an exception.[3]

Dr. Lapham records the existence of but a single ancient structure in Wisconsin "with a regular ditch or fosse all around the walls," located at or near Plover Portage, on the Upper Wisconsin; and this he did not personally inspect, but gives the statement on the representation of a corres-

[1] Foster's *Pre-Historic Races*, p. 174–76.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 224, 225.

[3] Gale's *Upper Wisconsin*, p. 23.

pondent.[1] Hon. C. D. Robinson, in his *Legend of the Red Banks,* on the eastern shore of Green Bay, about twelve miles from Green Bay city, describes an earth-work bearing a singular resemblance to modern military defences, having a ditch or moat on the *outside* of its walls;[2] while Hon. M. L. Martin, in his address before our Society in 1851, speaks of the parapet, making no reference to any ditch. These two exceptions, if true, do not invalidate the general rule, that thousands of structures of mounds and effigies within our borders, are surviving witnesses of the peaceful occupations of those who constructed them.

Rev. Stephen D. Peet, editor of the *American Antiquarian,* and author of several treatises on the prehistoric remains of the Northwest, writes: "The difference between a fort, whether French, English or American, and any of the mound-builders' works, is manifest in several particulars.

"First: The forts ordinarily have trenches on the *outside;* the mound-builders' enclosures, if they had trenches at all, had them on the *inside.*

"Second: The walls of forts are generally straight, and the angles in the walls are sharp and well-defined. The mound-builders' enclosures are ordinarily circular, and without bastions. Occasionally a straight wall, like that at Aztalan, may be found; but the bastions, so called, in this, are mere projections, looking like mounds, rounded on the outside, with a slight break in the wall in the rear of them. This is an exception to mound-builders' enclosures; probably not another one like it in the State, and only two in the United States, namely, in Tennessee.

"Third: The forts generally contain remains of chimneys, fire-places, stone-walls and houses. No mound-builders' enclosure ever contains any such tokens.

"Fourth: Wells are out of the question with mound-builders' works. There may be excavations inside the wall as at Fort Ancient, and springs outside the walls, but never wells. The sink-hole or cistern at Marietta has not been explained; it is an exception if it is a well.

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[1] Lapham's *Antiquities,* p. 73.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* II, p. 491.

"Fifth: The fortifications made by stockades were common among the mound-builders and Indians alike; generally, however, without trenches, and always on a circle. Stockade forts, by civilized people, are always straight, with sharp angles at the corners. There is no need of mistaking a stockade of the mound-builders and Indians, for the stockade of the French, the Spanish, or Americans.

"I should say from the description given by Mr. Brunson, that the tokens which he and Mr. Clark discovered, were those of a fort, either French or American. They could not have been those of the mound-builders. There are no enclosures belonging to the mound-builders near Prairie du Chien. There are many long mounds on the bluffs in various directions. These long mounds run in a continuous line, sometimes a mile or more, broken at intervals so as to make the mounds about eighty feet long. Effigies are scattered about near them. They are not fortifications, though Carver and Gen. Pike mistook them for such. They are more likely to be elevated platforms for the purpose of watching game—hunters could run along on the top of them, and hide behind them; the game would pass between them at the open places. They are found on the summit of the narrow, precipitous tongues of land, and run from the edge of the cliff back to the level plateau.

"Village enclosures near Prairie du Chien are made up of mounds, large conical mounds, arranged in a large circle—too large for a stockade. The prairie mounds were used for platforms—as resorts in the time of flood. No Indian stockade can be seen near Prairie du Chien. I think that the site described by Mr. Brunson must have been a fort erected by whites.

"Indian stockades were found near Milwaukee. There was no regular ditch connected with them, as may be seen in New York; but merely two lines of walls, forming a semi-circle, parallel with one another. No trench, I believe, has been found in connection with any prehistoric wall in the State—that is rather singular."

It is a wild conjecture, under such circumstances, to sup-

pose that the old fort at Prairie du Chien, with its ditch or moat *outside* of its ramparts, was a military structure of the mound-builders, while all surrounding works confessedly theirs, are of a peaceful nature. Mr. Butterfield, referring to the old fort, declares, that "the parapets and mounds were connected in one series of works." Mr. Samuel A. Clark, who nearly half a century ago, lived on the old fort lot, declares there were but two small mounds within the enclosure; these were near the center, and had no connection whatever with the parapets; and Hon. O. B. Thomas states that these mounds were without significance. There was, a little north of the old fort, a row of five mounds, apparently parallel, and another row of three just west of the others, as shown on Lyon's map of 1828; but no military man or antiquarian has ever regarded the fort as in any manner connected with these ancient earth-works, or either in any way, dependent upon the other.

This very phrase, of "parapets and mounds connected in one series of works," which Mr. Butterfield applies to the old fort, he cites from Long's *Narrative* by Keating in such a way as to lead the reader to suppose, that Col. Long was actually describing the ancient structure under discussion; while, as he says, he refers to works "*on the highlands;*" from three to five hundred feet above the prairie locality of the old fort,[1] and perhaps miles away. And to make Mr. Butterfield's pretended citation yet more inappropriate, Long says of these works "*on the highlands,*" that "no ditch was observed on either side of the parapet." At the old French fort, there was a ditch on the *outside* of the wall. In this same work of Long and Keating, it is stated, that we have derived our notions of fortifications from the Romans, and have continued to this day "to place the ditch *outside* the rampart;" while the mound-builders and Indians make their excavations by throwing up dirt before them, in the direction from which they apprehend an attack, and shelter themselves in the hollow. Hence the *inside* ditches.[2]

[1] Long's *Expedition*, by Keating, i, p. 241, 242.

[2] Long, i, p. 29.

Col. S. H. Long belonged to the United States engineer corps, had been an assistant professor at West Point, and was an accomplished officer of the army. He seems to have had an observant eye for all remarkable prehistoric works wherever he went, and freely made his observations on them; and while he described those "on the highlands," without ditches, as he states, he surely would not have overlooked the well known structure, only a mile from Upper Prairie du Chien, with its ditches outside of its ramparts, had he regarded it as the work of the mound-builders.

This visit of Col. Long and party to Prairie du Chien was in 1823. Schoolcraft, the distinguished antiquary and Indian historian, visited there three years before; and he, too, makes no reference in his *Narrative Journal,* to this old fort, as he surely would have done, had he deemed it the remains of the prehistoric age. Richard C. Taylor, who personally inspected our mounds, and gave his views of them in Silliman's *Journal of Science,* in 1838; and Stephen Taylor, then a Wisconsin resident, gave the results of his observations in the same *Journal,* in 1843, and neither make any reference to this ancient fort, which they would have done had they regarded it as a work of the mound-builders. Rev. Dr. Alfred Brunson, who long resided at Prairie du Chien, read a paper before our Society in 1850, on the "Ancient Mounds or Tumuli in Crawford County," and makes no reference whatever to this old fort as among the notable remains of the prehistoric age; but expressly declares elsewhere, that it was "a fort or trading-post" of the early white adventurers.[1] And finally, that keen antiquarian observer, Dr. I. A. Lapham, visiting Prairie du Chien in 1852, collecting materials for his great work on *Wisconsin Antiquities,* published by the Smithsonian Institute, makes not the slightest reference to this ancient fortress as coming within the scope of his collections. The non-belief of such an antiquary as Dr. Brunson, so long a resident of Prairie du Chien, and the silence of the eminent Dr. Lapham, sufficiently attest their views of the old fort—that whoever else constructed it, it was surely not the work of the mound-builder race.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 178, 184; iv, p. 250.

Fort St. Antoine at Lake Pepin

Perrot established two forts near the foot of Lake Pepin, one on either side—so states Dr. Neill. That on the eastern side must have been built first, probably in the spring of 1686, after leaving his wintering place at Trempealeau, and certainly not later than the spring of 1688. The locality of this establishment, named Fort St. Antoine, has been preserved by Franquelin, Penicaut, Bellin, and others. The other post, on the western bank of the stream, was apparently erected after 1688, else Franquelin would have located it on his map of that year as well as the other. We can justly quote Mr. Butterfield also, both in his *History of Crawford County*, and in his paper in this volume, as recognizing this "upper fort" of Perrot near the foot of Lake Pepin, on its eastern shore. The first impulse was a sense of relief and gratitude, that Mr. Butterfield had kindly spared us one of Perrot's old forts just where the good voyageur had located it. But this would seem a strange admission on the part of one who has shown so little faith in Franquelin. Though he has twice conceded the existence and locality of Perrot's "upper fort," where Franquelin places it; yet, on further thought, Mr. Butterfield ruthlessly proceeds to repudiate, as we shall see, this Fort St. Antoine locality, as given by Franquelin, Penicaut, and Bellin, and adopted by Dr. Neill, and even by Mr. Butterfield also, thus correcting, at one bold effort, "a great mistake," as he terms it, of five notable historical errorists.

Mr. Butterfield discovers, or thinks he discovers, that Fort St. Antoine, after all, was not located near the foot of Lake Pepin, and states the case in this wise: "Fort St. Anthony [Antoine] is put down by him [Franquelin] as on the east bank of the Mississippi, just below Lake Pepin, when it was actually at the head of Green Bay. That was a great mistake;" and then adds, that as compared with this, Franquelin's "making Fort St. Nicholas *above* the mouth of the Wisconsin, when it should have been *below* it, was a slight error."

This "slight error" Mr. Butterfield remedied with mar-

velous ease and success, by simply removing Franquelin's "little mark," indicating the locality of Fort St. Nicholas, and placing it some fifteen miles away. Having accomplished this skillful performance, he now essays to correct a "great mistake" of the great geographer, and one which he himself has twice, perhaps unwittingly, endorsed. Now, by a single dash of his pen, he proceeds to remove Fort St. Antoine from the foot of Lake Pepin, two hundred miles to the head of Green Bay. In this case Mr. Butterfield cites what he deems good authority, and we give him the benefit of doing so with good intentions. That he errs in his construction of this authority, I trust the evidence to be adduced, will be regarded as reasonably conclusive.

The only authority that appears to have any application to the case, which Mr. Butterfield cites, is in volume ix of New York *Colonial Documents,* p. 418, where we find Perrot's *procès-verbal* for taking possession of the Upper Mississippi country. This will bear a little examination. As early as October 8, 1686, Gov. Denonville, of Canada, informed the French government, that he had received letters "from the Upper Mississippi, where they propose wonders to me, were I to establish posts for the missions, and for the beavers which abound there."[1] It is curious to observe, that those who suggested these far-off posts, held out a double object, missions and beavers; but, we fear, the former was used as a sort of gilding, while they had an eye to "the main chance"—the valuable furs of the country.

It is a serious charge against the great Canadian cartographer of two centuries ago, that he committed not merely "a slight error" but "a great mistake;" and it is not so much my aim to attempt the defence of Franquelin's geographical labors, so highly eulogized by Gov. De la Barre, Parkman, Neill, and Baldwin, as it is to maintain the integrity of our early Wisconsin history.

Be this as it may, the French minister, March 8th, 1688, directed the governor, "in order to render incontestible His

[1] New York *Colonial Documents,* ix, p. 301.

Majesty's right to the countries discovered by his subjects" in the great Northwest, to send capable persons to "take possession anew" of all that region, by setting up posts with His Majesty's arms affixed, and using all the usual forms customary on such occasions.[1] Hence Perrot was sent by Gov. Denonville, as we see by the *procès-verbal* of May 8th, 1689, to take formal possession of the Upper Mississippi country; and Perrot declares in that document, that "*being come from the* Bay des Puants—i. e., Green Bay—to the Lake of the Wisconsin and river Mississippi, *we did transport ourselves to the country of the Sioux,*" etc.; and after naming the Sioux and other upper tribes, then takes formal possession of the country, after declaring himself as locally "commanding for the king the post of the Sioux." Perrot mentions among the witnesses of the ceremony, Bois-Guillot, commanding the French "in the neighborhood of the Wisconsin on the Mississippi," Father Marest "missionary among the Sioux," and Le Sueur the early explorer, trader and fort builder in the Sioux country. These were all notable characters of the Upper Mississippi and Sioux territory—the very region where the *procès-verbal* itself plainly indicates possession was taken.

Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, an able antiquarian, and editor of the New York *Colonial Documents*, gives at the head of the *procès-verbal*, his understanding of its aim and character: "*Minute of the taking possession of the country on the Upper Mississippi.*"

In Perrot's *Memoire*, p. 304, Tailhan expressly states: "Perrot, who had been recalled, in 1685, from the country of the Sioux, received, four years later, an express order to take possession of it in the name of the king, as appears of the following proceeding;" then citing at length Perrot's document of May 8, 1689. So Dr. Neill and others writing upon the subject, take the same view.

When Columbus took formal possession of the New World, De Tracy, of the Mohawk forts and settlements, La Salle, of Arkansas and Louisiana, De Nonville, of the Seneca country, and Céleron, of the Ohio valley, in each and every

[1] N. Y. *Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 372.

instance, the ceremonies of the *procès-verbal* took place in the country itself; indeed there could be no authentic minute of formally taking possession of any region unless accomplished at some central or prominent point in the territory in question. The very act of "taking possession" implies this; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to cite a case where any such formalities were performed hundreds of miles away. It would be like a "chimney corner survey," unworthy of recognition. So Perrot expressly states in his *procès-verbal,* that his act of taking possession of the Upper Mississippi country was *"done at Post St. Antoine,"* and nowhere else, which being centrally located on the Upper Mississippi, and in the region embraced in this formal procedure, was a most fitting place for such a ceremony.

Mr. Butterfield has discovered what he evidently supposed was a hitherto overlooked fact, namely, that at the head of Perrot's *procès-verbal,* as given in the New York *Colonial Documents,* are the words, *"Canada, Bay des Puants;"* and hence infers, that "post St. Antoine" was located at Green Bay. It is true, these words are given at the head of the copy in the New York archives; but it is quite obvious, that they formed no part of Perrot's original document, but were simply the endorsement on the paper, made, no doubt, by some clerk in the public office where received, when filed away. The original document was sent to the governor at Quebec; and on July 25, 1750, Dulaurent, the king's notary at Quebec, certifies to a collated copy, transmitted to the French government, preserved in the archives of the marine, at Paris, from which both Tailhan and Margry obtained their copies,[1] neither of which has the endorsement which the copyist of the New York *Colonial Documents* has given. It is plain that Tailhan and Margry did not regard this endorsement as a part of the original document, and hence omitted it. It would seem that the endorsement was made on the copy after reaching Paris, else, if made at Quebec, the word "Canada" would have been unnecessary.[2]

[1] Tailhan's *Perrot,* pp. 304, 305; Margry, v, pp. 33, 34.

[2] Application was made, through the courtesy of Douglas Brymner, Esq., Canadian archivist, to the proper authorities at Quebec, to ascer-

But why the endorsement "Bay des Puants," if the *procès-verbal* was really performed two hundred miles away at Post St. Antoine, on Lake Pepin? This is the answer: At that early period, and for more than a century thereafter, each prominent post in the Northwest had its dependencies—as, "Detroit and its dependencies," "Vincennes and its dependencies," and "Michilimackinac and its dependencies." and "*Green Bay and its dependencies.*" These dependencies, whether posts or settlements, dependent upon, and subject to, the head post of its region, often embraced a large extent of country.

Bougainville, an aide to Montcalm, in his *Memoir* on the condition of New France, 1757, gives this example: "La Mer d'Ouest *is a post* that includes the posts of St. Pierre, St. Charles, Bourbon, De la Reine, Dauphin, Poskoyac, and Des Prairies, all of which are built with palisades that can give protection only against Indians."[1] Bougainville further states, that Fort Abbitibi, in the Hudson's Bay region, "is a post dependent upon Temiscamingue, one hundred and twenty leagues" away. During the War of 1812-15, the British made Mackinaw their Northwestern headquarters, including Green Bay and Prairie du Chien among its dependencies.[2]

While Perrot, at the time of taking possession of the Upper Mississippi, and adjacent countries, in May, 1689, modestly claims in his report to have the local command of the "post of the Nadouesioux," or Sioux, he had also the management, as the *procès-verbal* itself shows, "*of the interests of commerce among all the Indian tribes and people*

tain whether the endorsement referred to, formed any part of Perrot's original minute. Mr. Brymner replies: "Respecting Perrot's *procès-verbal*, search has everywhere been made at Quebec; but, I regret to say, unsuccessfully, for the document in question. Search was made among the records of the Consiel Superieur, in the Register's office, and among the acts of Dulaurent, deposited among the court records, all, however, to no purpose."

[1] This valuable work of Bougainville is given in a volume of *Memoires Rélations et Inédits*, from the French Archives of the marine and colonies, by Pierre Margry, Paris, 1867. See also Dr. Neill's paper in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, v, p. 429; Mills's *Ontario Report*, 1877, p. 27.

[2] Judge Lockwood, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 116, 117.

of the Bay des Puants, Nadouesioux, Maskoutins, and other western nations of the Upper Mississippi." When sent to Green Bay, in 1685, he says, as showing the large extent of country over which he was directed to hold sway: "I was dispatched to this Bay with a commission to be Commander in Chief there, *and in the regions farther west, and also those I should be able to discover."* [1]

The New York *Colonial Documents,* volume ix, gives an enumeration of the Indian tribes, in 1736, on *Lake Michigan and its dependencies,"* naming the Menomonies, Pottawattamies, Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Mascoutins. Bougainville states, in 1757, that the Indian nations dependent upon, and carrying on their trade at Bay des Puants, or Green Bay, were the Folles-Avoines, Sakies, Outagamies or Renards, Puants, Maskoutins, Kickapous, Sioux-des-Prairies, and Sioux-des-Lacs.

In a copy of a manuscript document, of Gov. Guy Carleton, kindly furnished from the Canadian archives (by Douglas Brymner, Esq., Canadian archivist), in advance of its publication in his *Report* of 1886, we have a list of the Upper French posts in 1754, in which, among others, are enumerated "Detroit and dependencies," "Missilimakinac and dependencies," and *"La Baye and dependencies."* By this report it appears that Green Bay, at this period, had one officer, one sergeant, and four soldiers, with thirteen canoes of Indian goods annually transported thither for trade, whose computed cost was about seven thousand livres each, making the cost of Indian goods sent to Green Bay and dependencies aggregate nearly eighteen thousand dollars annually. According to Bougainville, three years later, the post of La Baye had given in three years to Messrs. Rigaud and Marin, 312,000 francs, and that at the time of Marin, who was associated with De La Jonquiere and Bigot, the governor and intendant of Canada, it produced 150,000 francs per annum besides paying all expenses. Montcalm charged these two corrupt officials with intent only of amassing fortunes.

Dr. Neill, in his interesting pamphlet on *The Last French*

[1] Tailhan's *Perrot,* p. 138, 303.

post in the valley of the Upper Mississippi, thus refers to Green Bay and its dependencies: "The department of trade called 'La Baye' included all the French posts between Green Bay and the Falls of St. Anthony. Bellin, the distinguished geographer, in *Remarques sur la carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* published in 1755, at Paris, refers to those on the shores of the river Mississippi and its tributaries, and mentions 'Fort St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Wisconsin;' a small fort at the entrance of Lake Pepin; one above, on the opposite side of the Lake; and another on the largest isle just above the Lake, built in 1695, by Le Sueur. Nicholas Perrot, when commandant of the 'La Baye' district in the autumn of 1685, ascended the Mississippi, and passed the winter at 'Montagne qui tremps dans l'eau' just beyond Black River, according to Franquelin's map, and subsequently built the fort on the east side of the Lake, on the same map marked 'Fort St. Antoine.' In 1689 Le Sueur was one of his associates at Lake Pepin, and Bois-Guillot, for a time in charge of Mackinaw, then at a post on the Mississippi just above the mouth of the Wisconsin."

The well-known Canadian antiquary and historian, Benjamin Sulte, thus writes: "There is no doubt, in my opinion, that Green Bay was a headquarter, and that Perrot conducted from there the business of the Wisconsin River, and also such localities as Prairie du Chien and others along the Upper Mississippi. The fort built at the mouth of the Wisconsin, whether above or below, and whether far or near from the mouth of the Wisconsin, was a dependency of Green Bay, especially at the period of 1686-90, when it is supposed the fort in question was built."

So Fort St. Antoine was clearly a dependency of Green Bay, though two hundred miles distant. It could not have been located at Green Bay, or we should find some reference to it by the early geographers and writers on the Northwest. No particular name was given to the fort established at Green Bay in the early French official documents, or by early French writers; they always refer to it as La Baye, or La Baye des Puans—the Bay of the Winnebagoes. Sir William Johnson, who as superintendent of

Indian affairs for the Northern Department of the Colonies, had sub-agents scattered all over the country, almost invariably refers to the post as La Baye, and only once indicating the name of the fort—Edward Augustus, given to it by the English on locating a garrison there in 1761.

The attempts of the geographers and a few early writers to attach a name to the fort there, are singularly at variance, and evidently without foundation. Father Crespel, who went there with De Lignery's troops in 1728, calls it Fort St. Francis, suggested doubtless by the mission of St. Francis Xavier, at De Pere, five miles above Green Bay. When Capt. De Vercheres was sent to command there in 1747, it was simply "to command at the Bay." Bellin, in 1755, merely refers to the "French fort" there; Palairet, in the same year, both on his map and in his *Description of the English and French possessions in North America,* names the fort as "Fort Sakisda," or Fort of the Sauks, locating it on the north side of the Fox River.

On the map appended to Mill's *Report on Ontario Boundaries,* showing the country claimed by France in 1756, is this legend: "Fort de la Baie des Puants." On Vaugondy's map of New France, 1758, we find "Fort Sakis;" and on Jeffery's map of 1760 and 1762, "Fort St. Xavier." "Fort Edward Augustus," was the English name by which the fort at Green Bay was known during Gorrell's command—1761–63—as may be seen in vols. i and viii, of our Society's *Collections,* and New York *Colonial Documents,* vii, p. 658. Carver, in 1766, speaks of "Fort La Baye." and on Vaugondy's corrected map, 1783, he changes "Fort Sakis," of his former edition, to "Fort Ochagras," fort of the Winnebagoes. All these designations seem invariably to refer either to the name of the mission at De Pere, or to the Sauks or Winnebagoes, save only during Gorrell's brief command at Green Bay; and in all these, we find no reference whatever to Fort St. Antoine as at that locality.

With all this array of facts, I do not see how any fair-minded investigator can reach any other conclusion, than that Fort St. Antoine, one of the dependencies of Green Bay was located on the eastern shore, and near the foot of Lake

Pepin, where Franquelin placed it two hundred years ago. He gained his information at first-hand—the only source of obtaining it at that day; and most likely from Perrot himself, who repeatedly visited Montreal and Quebec in Franquelin's time; or from Father Marest, or some other reliable person who was intimately acquainted with both the name of the fort and its locality.

Perrot's Post at Trempealeau

A few notes on the probable localities of the early posts above Fort St. Nicholas, will very properly form the conclusion of this paper.

Franquelin places Perrot's establishment, where he spent the winter of 1685–86, above the mouth of Black River. La Potherie describes it as in a wooded country, at the foot of a mountain, in the rear of which was a large prairie. Dr. Neill justly concludes that the "butte" or mountain noted by Franquelin on his early map, must have been the Trempealeau bluffs—the first elevated locality, some three miles above the mouth of Black River, which fully meets the description given by La Potherie, and noted by Franquelin. "This remarkable bluff," says Lapham, "is about five hundred feet high, affording a beautiful and extensive view of the Mississippi and the surrounding country."

This range of bluffs commences at Trempealeau village, and extends up the river some three miles. Back of the river, a little distance, is a beautiful plateau, where Mr. Hastings suggests, that Perrot may have established his little post, and from the bluff near by issues a fine living spring; or, if a point nearer the river was preferred, it might well have been fixed not far from the springs at the head of the pond.[1]

Or, it may be, that he located his little establishment near the notable Mont Trempealeau *"The Mountain that Dips in the Water"*—some three miles above Trempealeau vil-

[1] Statements of Hon. S. D. Hastings, Hon. R. Bunn, Charles A. Leith, and B. F. Houston. A fine representation of the southern end of the Trempealeau Bluffs is given as the frontispiece to the fourth volume of *Wisconsin Geological Reports.*

lage. It is a singular mountain, cut off, by some powerful convulsion of nature, from the range of bluffs to which it belonged. It stands conspicuously, solitary and alone, in the Mississippi River, near the eastern shore; rising sheer out of the water, and is covered with timber. It rises to an altitude of five hundred and sixty feet, and is about a mile in circumference. "Nothing," says Bryant, "can be conceived more beautiful than the approach to this most romantic and picturesque spot."

Between this Mountain Island, as it is sometimes called, and the Wisconsin shore, is a body of still, clear water, half a mile wide, usually termed Trempealeau Lake; directly east of which, somewhat above the river bottom, on a beautiful plateau, gushes out from the foot of the bluff a noble spring. Here, in 1836, some Protestant Swiss missionaries—Rev. Daniel Gavin and an associate, with their excellent wives—established a mission for the civilization and Christianization of the Sioux Indians. But, as Mr. Houston states, "being neither French nor Catholic, the well intended enterprise met with no favor from the traders; and like all other missions, it encountered the personal hostility of the influential chief, Wahpasha. As if this were not enough, the land itself was transferred by the Sioux, in 1837, to the United States, and the poor missionaries, the following year, broke up their establishment, and joined Messrs. Pond and Riggs in their labors among the Dakotas."

It might have been, that Perrot fixed his post, and spent the winter of 1685–86 near the spring where the modern Swiss mission was located. The locality itself—as, indeed, were the others suggested—was sufficiently charming and romantic, to have attracted the attention of the most ardent lover of Nature in all its primitive wildness and picturesque beauty.

No wonder Perrot selected this lovely locality, somewhere at the foot of the Trempealeau bluffs—this paradise in the wilderness—for his temporary abode. Rev. D. O. Van Slyke has written a pamphlet, seriously endeavoring to substantiate the proposition, that the Trempealeau region better fulfills the Bible description of the garden of Eden than

any other spot yet discovered. However, this may be, Bryant, in his *Picturesque America,* compares these romantic bluffs to those of nearly twice their altitude, immortalized by Byron:

> "The castled crag of Drachenfels
> Frowns o'er the wide and winding Rhine."

Though the Trempealeau bluffs have no ruined castle, like the Drachenfels, to attract the attention of visitors, they have, what appeals to the veneration of the thoughtful and the curious —remains of the mound-builders, stretching along their summit,[1] platforms or look-outs for the hunters of former ages.

Bryant pays this high and deserved compliment to Trempealeau: "This little place ought to be visited during the summer months, by every painter and poet in America, and should become the headquarters of everyone who loves the scenery of his country."

Locality of Fort St. Antoine

Franquelin places Fort St. Antoine on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, apparently a little below the mouth of Lake Pepin. The lower end of the Lake is only about a mile above the Chippewa River, while the low swampy land extends some two miles above the mouth of that stream, up the eastern shore of the Mississippi and Lake Pepin, thus rendering it altogether improbable, if not impossible, that the post was located below the outlet of the Lake. About two miles above the mouth of the Chippewa, Roaring Creek empties into Lake Pepin; and a little above this creek commences the elevated prairie forty or fifty feet higher than the bottom-lands, where Perrot could have located his post. Pepin village is over a mile still higher up the prairie, occupying a beautiful situation.

Bellin, in his "*Remarks*" on his map of 1755, mentions a small fort at the entrance of Lake Pepin, and another *above, on the other side of the lake.* Dr. Neill is of the opinion, that the one at the entrance of the lake was Fort St.

[1] Statement of Hon. A. W. Newman.

Antoine, while the one above, and on the opposite side refers to Fort Beauharnois, at or near Frontenac, some nine miles above the foot of the lake, on the western shore. It seems to me, however, that Fort Perrot, at or near the mouth of the lake, on the western bank was the post first referred to by Bellin, and the one above on the other side of the lake was Fort St. Antoine. Dr. Neill while making no attempt to fix the exact locality of Fort St. Antoine, does place it above the outlet of the lake, and on its eastern shore.[1]

Hon. Edward Lees, L. Kessinger, surveyor of Buffalo County, A. W. Miller, surveyor of Pepin County, and Hon. John Newcomb, all agree that, during their long residence in that region, they never heard of any vestiges, nor any remains of embankments or ditches, nor any traditions, of any old fort in or near the locality of Pepin village. It is proper to add, on the authority of Mr. Miller, who, as a land surveyor, has been familiar with the Pepin region for thirty-two years, that had there been any old fort remains there, the drifting sand would undoubtedly have long since buried them out of sight.

Both Mr. Newcomb and Mr. Miller, however, state, that there are some vestiges of an old fort, on the east side of Lake Pepin, about six miles above its outlet, and a little above the mouth of Bogus Creek, which were quite distinct thirty to forty years ago, at the first settlement of the country; but that the plow and cultivation have nearly obliterated them.

"During my stay at Lake Pepin in 1855," writes Mr. Miller, "surveying the villages of Pepin and Stockholm, my attention was called to the remains of what was then denominated *"the old French fort,"* on the lake shore, in section 20, T. 23, n. of Range 15, w., located about one hundred and thirty or forty rods above the mouth of Bogus Creek, in a generally timbered region. I found the lines of it to be nearly rectangular, and the lines or embankments were from one to two feet above the surrounding surface. At

[1] Neill's *Hist. Minn.*, fourth edition, p. 833; his *Pioneers and Explorers of Minnesota*, p. 31; his *Concise History*, p. 18; his *Last French Post*, p. 1.

the southwest angle, there was quite a large pile of stone, composed of three qualities—some from the lake shore, some from the surface in and around the place, and some sandstone, such as were found at the foot of the bluff, a quarter of a mile to the north of the fort site.

"I inquired of the oldest settlers, who had lived in that vicinity since 1846, how any one knew that these remains were those of an old French fort? They answered, that the Indians and half-breeds, who were born at Wabasha, and were then gray-headed men, had always been told, that the French people, many years ago, came and built a great tepee (house), and dug a well in it there. This was the tradition. There was a slight depression in the ground near the southeast angle, on the inside of the lines, about eight or ten feet in diameter, nearly circular, and about a foot in depth in the center. This may have been the site of the traditional well. The nearest spring along the lake is just below the famous cliff of the Lover's Leap, some three miles above.

"In August, 1857, I removed to Pepin village. On several occasions I took visitors to the site of the old French fort, nearly four miles distant, to excavate for old nails. We always found the old-fashioned wrought-iron nail among the coal and ashes, from two to three feet below the surface. The charcoal and ashes were indications of the destruction of the fort by fire. The nails found were in all stages of oxidation, while some of them remained quite perfect. A plowed field now occupies the old fort locality, and the G. B. & N. R. R. must approach close to the front of the ancient structure.

"I never took the pains to measure the lines of the foundation; but according to my best recollection, it occupied a space of about sixty by forty-five feet, and stood about seventy feet back from the point of highest water-mark on the lake shore; and, I should think, it was from ten to fourteen feet above high-water. I never doubted the former existence of an old fort at that place; in fact, the evidence was conclusive. It was the most suitable locality for such a structure that could be found anywhere between Bogus and

Pine creeks, a distance of some six miles, of which the upper half is one continued series of perpendicular rocks, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet high, jutting close to the lake."

This old fort locality presents apparently the strongest probability of having been the site of Fort St. Antoine. We have no historical evidence of any other early establishment having been erected on the southeastern shore of Lake Pepin.

It may be added, in this connection, that Dr. Neill in his earlier publications—notably, his *Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota,* supposed that La Potherie's description of Perrot's wintering establishment at the "butte" or bluff of Trempealeau, with the post at the foot of the bluff, where timber was plenty, and the large prairie in the rear, referred to the locality of Fort St. Antoine on the eastern shore of Lake Pepin; but when he came across Franquelin's map, and examined the Trempealeau region, he discovered his error—so that description has no application whatever to Fort St. Antoine and its situation.

Fort Beauharnois not in Wisconsin

In Dr. Neill's publications, he indicated that he thought, perhaps, that Fort Beauharnois, established in 1727, was first erected on the eastern shore of Lake Pepin. "Misled," he writes, "by Guignas' statement, that it was placed on the *north* side of the lake, I erroneously inferred in one of my publications, that it was first temporarily located on the Wisconsin side, and afterwards removed to the opposite shore of the lake. After expressing this opinion, I visited the lake, and found that the trend at Point du Sable was toward the north, whence the declaration, that it was really on the western shore of the Lake, as stated in my latest publication, *The Last French Post near Frontenac.* Snyder and Van Vechten copied this erroneous locality of Fort Beauharnois into their *Historical Atlas of Wisconsin,* suggesting that its locality was probably in the town of Stockholm, in Pepin County.

But Dr. Neill is unquestionably correct. Fort Beauharnois

never had a foothold on Wisconsin soil. Guignas, in Shea's *Early Voyages,* says this fort was located on a low point about the middle of the *north* side of Lake Pepin, and Neill adds, that it was on the point of land in sight of, and opposite to, the celebrated Maiden's Rock, which is on the eastern bank of the lake, and over four hundred feet high. Pike, in his *Travels,* states that just below Point du Sable, on the western shore of Lake Pepin, the French built a stockade fort. Point du Sable is near the village of Frontenac, midway on the lake, and in plain sight of Maiden's Rock, nearly three miles distant.

The old French fort near Bogus Creek—Fort St. Antoine, as we believe—"cannot be seen" writes Mr. Miller, "from Maiden's Rock, as a prominent bluff or headland, a mile or so above Stockholm village, intervenes to obstruct the view." So the Bogus Creek fort could not have been Fort Beauharnois.

Note—While I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the several gentlemen, whose names are cited as authorities, in the preparation of this paper, I feel under especial obligations to the Rev. Dr. E. D. Neill, Dr. J. D. Butler, Douglas Brymner, and Benjamin Sulte, for translations and suggestions.

Autographs of Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution

By Lyman C. Draper

The London *Athenæum* declared, in 1855, that "the story of what history owes to the autograph collectors would make a pretty book." Interesting as this phase of the subject might be made, it is not the purpose of the present paper to attempt its elucidation.

Sir Richard Phillips, whose career extended from 1767 to 1840, claimed in his day to have been the pioneer in the collection of autographs. This *may* have been true so far as England is concerned, limiting his collection to varieties made for the single object of curiosity. An autograph collection, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, should not be confounded with collections of historical manuscripts, made and preserved by governments, libraries, and historians, for purposes of public records, and as materials for historic literature. Such collections date back to the times of papyrus manuscripts, and the Alexandrian Library, long anterior to the discovery of printing.

Some vague references to autographs may be traced back to the palmy days of Greece and Rome. Autograph signatures in albums, we are told, were known as early as 1466; and about the year 1550, persons of quality took about with them elegant blank books for the signatures of eminent persons or valued friends. One of these albums, preserved in the British Museum, bears date 1578. In Germany, over three hundred years ago, the practice of making collections of autographs seems to have been quite common. It began with noblemen, and persons of taste and wealth. The custom soon spread to other countries. Many large autograph collections were formed in the sixteenth century, notably

those in France of Antoine Lomenié de Brienne and Le Croix du Maine—Brienne's collection reaching 340 large folio volumes, preserved in the French National Library.

Similar collections have been made in England. Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, Sir Hans Sloane and Sir Thomas Bodley were the pioneers of this good service in that country. Cotton's career extended from 1570 to 1631; and his gatherings embraced ancient records, charters and other manuscripts, which had been dispersed from the monastic libraries during the reign of Henry VIII—among which is the original of the famous *Magna Charta,* the foundation of British constitutional freedom, wrung by the sturdy barons from the reluctant King John, in 1512. His library and manuscripts, which had received numerous additions from his son and grandson, after having been partially destroyed by fire in 1731, was transferred, while still numbering over 20,000 articles, to the British Museum, in 1757. This was apparently the earliest collection of the kind made in England.

Sir Hans Sloane, born in 1660, and dying in 1752, made a wonderful gathering of autographs in his day, commencing early and continuing to the end of his extended life of nearly ninety-two years. As a great physician and naturalist, and long president of the Royal Society, his tastes were largely in the line of natural science; yet his collections embraced many works and manuscripts on history, and his cabinet of curiosities, was the finest of his time. Extremely solicitous that the rich garnerings of a life-time should not be scattered at his death, and unwilling that so large a portion of his fortune should be entirely lost to his children, he bequeathed the whole to the public on condition that Parliament should make good £20,000 to his family. This sum, though large in appearance, was scarcely more than the intrinsic value of the gold and silver medals, the ores and precious stones, in the cabinet; for in his last will he declares, that the first cost of the whole collection amounted to £50,000. Parliament accepted his legacy, and from this ample beginning the British Museum had its origin, supplemented shortly after by the noble Cottonian collection. Among the Sloane Library of upwards of fifty thousand

volumes, there were three hundred and forty-seven illustrated with cuts finely engraved, and colored from nature; and four thousand one hundred volumes of manuscripts, together with an infinite number of rare and curious works of every kind.

Sir Thomas Bodley gathered his library and manuscripts in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which formed the nucleus of the noble Bodleian Library of Oxford, since augmented by many additions to 22,000 volumes; and in many departments, these collections are unique and invaluable.

The subsequent manuscript additions to the British Museum, since the Sloane and Cotton foundation, have been very large. The collection of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, numbered over 7,600 volumes, containing 40,000 documents; the Lansdowne Mss., consisted of 1,245 volumes; while the Hargrave, Burney, Grenville and other collections, have served to swell this great storehouse of manuscripts to magnificent proportions, enriching and elucidating every department of historic, scientific, and miscellaneous literature.

Auction sales of autographs began in London early in this century; and since about 1823, they have been quite frequent both in London and Paris.

The pioneer autograph collectors in the United States were Israel K. Tefft, of Savannah; Rev. Dr. Wm. B. Sprague, of New York, and Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore: followed by B. B. Thatcher, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, Dr. John S. H. Fogg and Chas. P. Greenough, of Boston; Howard K. Sanderson, Lynn; Nathaniel Paine, Worcester; Maj. B. P. Poore, Newburyport; Mrs. Wm. Hathaway, New Bedford; Prof. E. H. Leffingwell, New Haven; Mrs. E. H. Allen, Providence; Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, Col. T. B. Myers, Almon W. Griswold, Jos. W. Drexel, Hiram Hitchcock and D. McN. Stauffer, New York; Hon. Henry C. Murphy, and Gordon L. Ford, Brooklyn; Hon. H. S. Randall, Courtland Village, N. Y.; Henry C. Van Schaak, Manlius, N. Y.; Dr. Lewis Roper, Ferd. J. Dreer, Simon Gratz, Robert C. Davis, J. J. Mickley, Henry C. Baird, Charles Roberts and Geo. M. Conarroe, Philadelphia; Maj.

Frank M. Etting, Concordville, Penn.; John M. Hale, Phillipsburg, Penn.; Rev. J. H. Dubbs, Lancaster, Penn.; Dr. J. I. Cohen and Col. Brantz Mayer, Baltimore; Henry A. Willard, Washington; Dr. C. G. Barney, Richmond; Prof. R. W. Gibbes, Columbia, S. C.; Col. C. C. Jones, Augusta, Ga.; Lewis J. Cist, Cincinnati; Chas. F. Gunther, Chicago; W. T. Black, Des Moines; and State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society, and New York State Library, though having valuable sets of autographs, secured them in their collected condition, by purchase, and were not collectors by piece-meal. Charles De F. Burns, of New York, as a dealer in autographs, and publisher of the *American Antiquarian*, has, for a long series of years, rendered singular aid to many collectors of the country.

Mr. Tefft seems to have been the precursor in the collection of autographs in this country. Born in Smithfield, R. I., February 12, 1795, he early lost his parents, and was raised on a farm. He acted awhile as a book-keeper in a manufacturing establishment. In 1816, he removed to Savannah, where he engaged in business, till misfortunes overtook him, when he served successfully as a clerk, editor of literary papers, and cashier of a bank. He commenced saving autographs as early as 1815–16, without, apparently, at its commencement, any definite purpose. "He kept it very quiet at first," as he naively said in after years, "feeling for some time very shy of being known as the collector of such things." He could not have entered very enthusiastically into the work until many years thereafter; for, Dr. Sprague says, when he visited Mr. Tefft at Savannah, in 1830, his collection was in a very incipient state, probably not numbering more than twenty or thirty letters. But some of these must have been rarities, for when Dr. Sprague made this visit, Mr. Tefft most courteously and generously offered for the Doctor's acceptance such of his autographs as he did not possess. Dr. Sprague selected quite a number, assuring his Savannah friend that he would return their full equivalent. At first, Mr. Tefft grieved not a little over the loss of the gems of his collection, and felt that his spirit for further gathering was broken, and that he should

scarcely seek to make good the ravages of this great Northern despoiler. "But," said Mr. Tefft, many years after, "never was promise more faithfully kept; my gift to Dr. Sprague was literally bread thrown on the water—it returned to me a thousand-fold; and to his steady liberality and friendship have I been indebted, more than to all others, for the value of my collection."[1]

Another anecdote is related of Mr. Tefft, which illustrates how accident sometimes furnishes what the most patient inquiry had failed to supply. Visiting a gentleman's residence near Savannah—apparently after 1845—Mr. Tefft, finding the owner absent, walked out on the lawn; when a paper was blown across his path, and listlessly picking it up, he joyfully discovered it to be one of the rare autographs of a Georgia signer of the declaration—the only one he then lacked to complete his set, and of which he had long been in active pursuit. When the owner returned, and Mr. Tefft had transacted his business with him, he was asked to specify the amount of his fee. "Nothing," said Mr. Tefft, 'if you will allow me to keep this piece of paper I found on your lawn." The owner replied that he was welcome to it; that its writer had once occupied the place, and his own servants had recently cleaned an old garret of papers of which this was a waif. Mr. Tefft related this circumstance with great enthusiasm, and evidently valued this prodigal more than any other of the rarities of his many years of persevering search.[2] This it would seem, was the autograph of Button Gwinnett, the rarest not only of the Georgia signers, but, save Lynch, of the whole immortal fifty-six.

Mr. Tefft, after having formed one full set of autographs of the signers of the declaration, and lacking only three of another, and having made a splendid collection of other notable characters of both continents, died at Savannah, June 30, 1862. He was a noble man, and liberally assisted his fellow collectors with duplicates—especially of Thomas Lynch, Jr., that rarest of autographs of the signers. In

[1] *American Antiquarian*, Aug., 1870.

[2] *Historical Magazine*, April, 1862; *American Antiquarian*, Nov., 1870.

1865, Almon W. Griswold, Esq., of New York, purchased of Mr. Tefft's widow both sets of the autographs of the signers of the declaration, and one of the signers of the constitution. One set of the declaration signers was subsequently sold through E. French, to the New York State Library; and the other, though not quite complete, was disposed of a few years since, through Messrs. Sabin & Sons, to Jos. W. Drexel, of New York. The remainder of Mr. Tefft's valuable collection was sold at auction in New York, in March, 1867, the catalogue filling 264 pages, and estimated to comprise some twenty-five thousand specimens.

Dr. Sprague commenced his collection apparently as early as the autumn of 1815—as soon, perhaps, as Mr. Tefft, and possibly even earlier. "To him," says Charles F. Fisher, of Philadelphia, "more than to any other single individual in the country, are we probably indebted for the discovery and preservation of large masses of invaluable correspondence of the colonial and Revolutionary times, which in old trunks and boxes, in garrets and cellars, were fast hastening to decay, and exposed daily by accident or carelessness to destruction, until rescued by his zealous and untiring researches."

Dr. Sprague was born at Andover, Conn., October 16, 1795, and graduated at Yale College in 1815. During the latter part of his senior year in college, he was invited, through the Hon. Timothy Pitkin and Prof. Silliman, of Yale, to go to Virginia, as an instructor in the family of Maj. Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Gen. Washington, whose wife, *née* Eleanor Park Custis, was the granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, and the adopted daughter of the great chief. He accepted the invitation, and, accordingly, in the autumn of 1815, he set out for Maj. Lewis' country seat, Woodlawn, which had been a part of Washington's plantation, near Mount Vernon. Here he was cordially received, and remained as a tutor in the family until June, 1816.[1]

It was during this period—embracing probably nearly

[1] Charles B. Moore's "Memoir of Dr. Sprague," in *N. Y. Genealogic-Biographical Record*, Jan., 1877.

all of it—that he obtained permission from Judge Bushrod Washington, who inherited the papers of his distinguished uncle, to take whatever letters he might choose from Gen. Washington's voluminous correspondence, provided only that he would leave copies in their stead. The result was, that he came into possession of some fifteen hundred letters, many of which were included in the three sets of the signers which he completed. "Of course," writes his son, Wm. B. Sprague, Jr., "many other autographs were obtained from friends by way of exchange; but a very large number of his collections were addressed to Washington, and bear his endorsement." Dr. Emmet had thought, from what Dr. Sprague had told him, that the latter had with his exchange with Mr. Tefft, made up from his Washington collection a full set of the signers, and all the generals of the Revolution.

Mr. Gratz states, that of Dr. Sprague's best set of signers, which eventually came into his possession, twenty-one were addressed to Washington; and, from this set, five had previously been exchanged with Dr. Emmet, including the Lynch letter, and letters of Heyward and Middleton. Mr. Gratz adds, that a few of the letters in his set of the signers, obtained by Dr. Sprague from the Washington manuscripts, are represented in duplicate in the second Sprague set of the signers, now belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It would appear, therefore, that aside from some duplicates, Dr. Sprague did not acquire from the Washington manuscripts to exceed twenty-nine letters of the signers—except duplicates, a little more than one-half of the whole number. He probably had to exchange duplicates for many he did not possess, not only with Mr. Tefft, as Dr. Emmet states; but with several others, as indicated by Wm. B. Sprague, Jr.

There is a pretty general opinion with our oldest and most intelligent autograph collectors, that Dr. Sprague originated the idea of making a collection of the autographs of the signers of the declaration of independence; and that he was undoubtedly the first to complete his set. The date of its completion is not known—it was, however, prior to

1835; for B. B. Thatcher's letter in June, of that year, reproduced in Burns' *American Antiquarian* of September, 1871, states that Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, had made his collection of the signers complete, with the single exception of Lynch; and adds: "Rev. Mr. Sprague has out-run him in this field, for he has the whole, and so has Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, and *these are the only two complete sets in the world.*" Dr. Raffles' collection was not yet complete; it still lacked, at least George Taylor's autograph. Hon. Mellen Chamberlain states, that when he visited Dr. Sprague at Albany, in 1848, he thinks he then had two complete sets—one designed for his son.

Dr. Sprague passed away May 7th, 1876, but not until he had gathered one of the largest and most valuable private collections of autographs in this country—numbering, it is said, forty thousand specimens. He completed three sets of the signers of the declaration of independence—two of which remain intact, and hereafter noticed; while the third set has been broken up, and gone to improve, or fill up deficiencies in other sets—some in completing that of our own Society.

Mr. Thatcher testified, in 1835, to Dr. Sprague's wonderful collection—as "at the head of the *list longo intervallo*, being composed of twenty thousand specimens at least—an enormous multitude, indicating most significantly, the vast pains which must have been taken by that intelligent, amiable, and indefatigable enthusiast to enhance the extent of his treasures."

Dr. Sprague was a man of remarkable industry. Beside his pulpit ministrations, he wrote no less than sixteen different works between 1821 and 1866—one *Annals of the American Pulpit*, is a production of great merit, in nine volumes. He also wrote numerous introductions to biographical and other works, was a contributor to Appleton's *New American Cyclopedia*, and was the author of more than one hundred pamphlets. The gathering of book materials, notably for his great work on the *American Pulpit*, largely contributed to the augmentation of his wonderful autograph collection. Take him all in all, Dr. Sprague fills

a distinguished and unique place in the history of American literature, and is accorded on all hands the highest rank among the early American autograph collectors.

Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, was also an early and successful collector of autographs. He was a man of liberal means; and one year, while in Europe, he expended thirty thousand dollars for paintings, autographs, and other objects of virtu. Dr. Jared Sparks, who resided awhile in Baltimore, aided Mr. Gilmor very materially. Mr. Thatcher's description of his collection, as it existed early in 1835, represents it as less voluminous, but more general and valuable, autographically considered, than Dr. Sprague's. It was very rich in specimens of noted English and French characters—Mr. Thatcher enumerating many of them. Mr. Gilmor lived to supply his wanting Lynch autograph; and dying, at the age of seventy-four, Nov. 30, 1848, his collection mainly passed into the hands of Mr. Ferd. J. Dreer, of Philadelphia, including his set of the signers, while another portion was scattered, and aided materially in making up and improving other collections. In his lifetime, Mr. Gilmor had bestowed upon the Maryland Historical Society a rich array of manuscripts, illustrating the period of the French and Revolutionary wars; and these *Gilmor Papers* will long serve to perpetuate his memory.

The deaths of several of the signers during the Revolutionary contest—Morton and Gwinnett, in 1777; Livingston, in 1778; Hewes and Lynch, in 1779; Hart, in 1780; Taylor and Stockton, in 1781—so soon after appending their names to the immortal declaration, have contributed to render their autographs exceedingly rare in any form. Those of the other North and South Carolina signers, together with those of Thornton, Samuel Adams, Ellery, Lewis Morris, Stone, Wythe, Braxton, Heyward, Middleton, and Hall are also among those most difficult to obtain.

Sometime prior to 1834, Dr. Sprague was so fortunate as to obtain a Lynch signature from Gen. James Hamilton of South Carolina, a nephew of that signer, which he generously sent to Dr. Raffles; and Mr. Tefft supplied his English friend

with a receipt signed by Gwinnett. Still, Dr. Raffles lacked a Taylor autograph to complete his collection—so he wrote to Mr. Tefft. This letter was shown to Rev. Dr. Samuel Gilman, of Charleston, S. C., on his first visit to Mr. Tefft, in 1834: "I now," wrote Dr. Raffles, "possess every signer of the declaration of independence, save one, viz.: George Taylor." On Dr. Gilman's second visit, early in 1837,[1] Mr. Tefft showed him a letter from Dr. Raffles, "recently received" in which he said: "Pray, are your signers complete? I look with mingled emotions of sorrow and hope upon the only *hiatus* I have in mine." How the good Doctor's heart must have leaped for joy, when he, not long thereafter, opened a letter from his fellow collector, Dr. Sprague, to find the long-sought "hiatus" supplied. It was a legal document, with the Christian name of the signature unfortunately torn off—still, it served to perfect his set of the signers. Its genuineness was vouched for by Dr. Sprague as an "original manuscript of George Taylor, one of the signers."

Mr. Tefft's first collection of the signers, at the time of Dr. Gilman's second visit, in 1837, was still far from being complete. He had then recently received from his friend, Dr. Sprague, of Albany, among numerous other invaluable specimens, the autograph of Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the declaration. "It had been for years," adds Dr. Gilman, "upon his list of *desiderata*, and was almost despaired of, as being probably no longer extant." He still lacked seventeen autographs to make up his set of the signers—those of Thornton, Floyd, Lewis Morris, Hart, Mor-

[1] The dates of these two visits are determined by the time of their publication in *The Rose*, a literary journal, edited by Dr. Gilman and lady at Charleston—the first part of "A Week Among Autographs," appearing in the issue of April 18, 1835; while the results of the second visit are given from June 10, to July 8, 1837. The papers on these visits were reproduced, first in Mrs. Caroline Gilman's charming volume *Poetry of Traveling*, in 1838; and somewhat enlarged in Dr. Gilman's *Contributions to Literature*, in 1856. A file of *The Rose* is preserved by Dr. Gilman's daughter, Mrs. Eliza Gilman Lippitt, of Washington, who has kindly furnished these dates from that source.

ton, Ross, Smith, Taylor, Wilson, Read, Rodney, Stone, Braxton, Nelson, Penn, Lynch, and Middleton. These deficiencies having been made known by the publication of Dr. Gilman's paper, "A Week Among Autographs," attracted the notice of persons who furnished him with these *desiderata*—President Sparks alone sending him three letters. Whether the fortunate discovery of the Lynch signatures by Dr. Gilman, in 1845, served to complete Mr. Tefft's first set, we are not informed; but when Dr. Gilman published his *Contributions to Literature* in 1856, in which his autograph essay is reproduced, he states, that since its original publication, and in consequence of its appearance, Mr. Tefft had completed his collection. Mr. Cist, in the *Historical Magazine* for August, 1859, says "it was perfected many years ago." Mr. Tefft's indomitable perseverance—with a supply of the Lynch signature to bank on—enabled him, in a few years, and prior to the out-break of our civil war, to form nearly a second set, lacking only Paine, Sherman and Stone.

Up to 1845, no collection of the signers was complete, save only Dr. Sprague's and Dr. Raffles'. In April and May of that year, Dr. Gilman obtained for Mr. Tefft several signatures of Thomas Lynch, Jr., cut from a volume of Latin translations made by him while at college, preserved by his nieces, the Misses Bowman, of Charleston, and from fly-leaves of printed books formerly belonging to Mr. Lynch, which had been presented by Mr. Bowman, who had married a sister of the signer, to the Apprentices' Library of that city; and these precious signatures were presented by Dr. Gilman to Mr. Tefft, at whose solicitation he had procured them. Mr. Tefft at once shared his rich acquisition with Mr. Gilmor, Mr. Cist, and others, thus enabling them to complete their collections; and with Dr. Sprague for his additional sets. Hon. Mellen Chamberlain writes: "I was at Dr. Sprague's house in Albany, I think in 1848, and he then had two complete sets of the signers—one of which he designed for his son." The discovery of the Lynch signatures has had the happy effect of completing no less than nineteen collections of the signers, while at least one

other is known to be in a set yet incomplete, not counting that of Dr. Gibbes, destroyed at the burning of Columbia.

The difference in the character and attractiveness of these several collections is very striking. One of the most distinguished collectors in the country very justly remarks: "The different sets of the signers that are owned in the United States vary greatly in character, interest and value. Some of them are as much superior to others as a perfect Caxton imprint is superior to one that is largely made up of leaves in facsimile. Some are composed, to a great extent, of A. L. S. of the period, on public matters, while others are formed mainly of letters and documents of a private business character, written at a date remote from 1776."

It is not strange, that some autographs of the signers—notably that of Lynch—have been counterfeited. "A few years ago," says the *American Antiquarian* of Nov., 1870, "a well dressed man called to see one of the most eminent collectors in Philadelphia, and offered to sell him a letter of Thomas Lynch Jr., which he claimed to have discovered somewhere in the South. A single glance satisfied the collector that it was a base forgery, and tearing the document in pieces, he handed back the fragments to the stranger, who accepted them, and retired without saying another word." As the rare specimens of the signers become still more rare, and consequently of enhanced value, the temptation to counterfeit them will be greater.

One of the most discriminating autograph collectors in this country, writes: "There are many collections that would be considerably decreased in size, if an expert were to examine them, and cast out all the letters or documents that are not genuine, or not written by the persons whose handwriting they are intended to represent."

The danger of taking the son for the father, or *vice versa*, or the wrong man of the same name, has been very properly suggested by Mr. Burns, as well as by the autograph collector just quoted. There were two Lynches, father and son, so of Hart, Carroll, and Heyward. There were two Richard Stocktons, father and son, both eminent lawyers and statesmen of New Jersey—the signer dying in 1781,

while the son outlived the father forty-seven years, and whose autograph, by those not familiar with such things, and unobserving of dates, has been mistaken for the signer's.

There were two Benjamin Harrisons, near relatives, and both prominent in public affairs in Virginia during the Revolution—one, the signer, was contra-distinguished from the other as Benjamin Harrison of Berkley; while his kinsman was known as Benjamin Harrison of Brandon—Berkley and Brandon being the names of their respective seats on the banks of the James River. Virginia also furnished two Thomas Nelsons—Thomas Nelson Sr., familiarly known as Secretary Nelson, who resided in Yorktown, was the unsuccessful competitor of Patrick Henry for the first term of governor of Virginia under the constitution of 1776, and when, shortly after, chosen one of the privy council, he declined on account of the infirmities of age; while his nephew, Thomas Nelson Jr., also of York County, who was the signer, became governor during the life-time of his namesake uncle. The father of Secretary Nelson, and grandfather of Gov. Nelson, also bore the christian name of Thomas.

It may be added, that Josiah Bartlett, Robert Treat Paine, Oliver Wolcott, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, George Ross, and others of the signers, had sons of the same name. Col. James Smith, of Pennsylvania, afterwards of Kentucky, has sometimes been mistaken for his namesake, the signer. George Taylor, also of Pennsylvania, had a counterpart of the same name. There was a second John Morton, a Philadelphia Quaker merchant, sometimes mistaken for the signer. "I have," writes Mr. Stauffer, "a series of about thirty-five letters that I call my set of *wrong men,* who had the same name, and flourished at the same period as the genuine ones." These are points that require the care and knowledge of an expert, in order to prevent errors, which experienced collectors are constantly on the alert to detect, and the mere suspicion of the existence of one of which, would injure the reputation of a set amongst *con-*

noisseurs.[1] The recent sale, writes Mr. Burns, of the Cist collection of signers, always counted among the complete sets extant, disclosed the fact, that the autographs of Hart and Taylor were not of the right men.

The progress of forming sets of the signers has been slow from the start. It took from 1815 to well on towards 1835, for Dr. Sprague to complete his first collection; and till 1837 before Dr. Raffles succeeded in procuring the last of his fifty-six autographs. In 1845, we judge, Mr. Gilmor completed his set; and others probably not very long thereafter.

In August, 1870, Mr. Burns enumerated fourteen sets of the signers, namely: Dr. Raffles', Dr. Sprague's two sets, New York State Library's, A. W. Griswold's, Dr. Emmet's, Col. Myers', Mr. Chamberlain's, Mrs. Allen's, Prof. Leffingwell's, Mr. Dreer's, Mr. Davis', Mr. Mickley's, and Mr. Cist's. The Griswold set, now Mr. Drexel's, was then incomplete, and the Mickley and Cist collections have since been dispersed. In November, 1870, Mr. Burns announced two others as complete—Dr. J. I. Cohen's, and Dr. Sprague's third set.

Mr. Sabin, in January, 1871, placed the numbers of sets then in existence at seventeen, without naming them—"some of which," he added, "are very weak in specimens, and perfect in completeness only." It is quite certain that there were not so many complete sets at that day; some that were so reckoned, doubtless lacked one or more specimens; and some, then incomplete, have since been dispersed, going to improve and complete others. As late as 1876, Mr. Brotherhead gave a list of seventeen persons in this country engaged in making collections of autographs of the signers; of these, however, four never completed their sets, and two were dispersed.

When the first edition of Brotherhead's *Book of the Signers* appeared, in 1861, reference was made in a notice of the work in the Philadelphia *Press,* to Queen Victoria's collection, "which we have seen in the private library at Windsor Castle," etc. The well-known author, Theodore Martin, made inquiries regarding this pretended set, and

[1] Burns' *American Antiquarian,* Aug., 1870.

wrote to Mr. Brotherhead, June 21, 1875: "In his last letter to me, Gen. Ponsonby, Her Majesty's private secretary, says: 'When Mr. Brotherhead sent a volume through the foreign secretary in 1861, he said: 'Your Majesty already possesses nearly a complete set of the original autographs of the signers.' I can *find no trace* of this set of autographs, nor can I ascertain that the queen possessed any of their autographs;" and in a letter a month later, to Mr. Brotherhead, Gen. Ponsonby further says: "The librarian assures me, that no such collection is in the library, and his further search has confirmed him in his opinion, that the queen never did possess these autographs. He also inquired at the British Museum, but no trace of any such collection can be found." Dr. Emmet writes: "Queen Victoria has no set; for I tried to see it at Windsor, and was told positively that she never had one." This should be regarded as conclusive.

In enumerating the collections of the signers extant, Mr. Burns, in the August number, 1870, of his *Antiquarian,* referred to the queen's supposed set, adding: "Of this, we know nothing further than its existence. Can any one tell us whether it is an original collection, or that of the Rev. Dr. Raffles?" As it was well-known, that the queen had secured no set of the signers in this country, it was very naturally surmised, that she had obtained Dr. Raffles' collection; but it transpires that the doctor's set has never passed out of the possession of his family.

During our Civil War, a complete collection of the signers, gathered by the late Prof. Robert W. Gibbes, of Columbia, S. C., was destroyed at the burning of that city—of its composition, we have no knowledge; of course, to have been complete, it must have included a Lynch signature. During the past seventeen years, three full sets have been dispersed—Mr. Mickley's, one of Dr. Sprague's and Mr. Cist's, while nine have been completed, namely: Mr. Gratz's, Dr. Fogg's, Wisconsin Historical Society's, three additional ones by Dr. Emmet, two by Col. Jones, of Georgia, and J. M. Hale's.

It is doubtful if more than a single other set, in addition to the present number of the signers, is ever com-

pleted; though possibly some of the incomplete sets extant, may, if brought into the market, help out a few others. It would seem that the source of supply of the Lynch signatures is practically exhausted, and perhaps the Gwinnett also. Dr. Gilman stated, in April, 1845, that the Misses Bowman informed him, that a large trunk of the papers of their uncle, Thomas Lynch Jr., had, a few years previously been deposited for safety with their kinsman, Gen. James Hamilton, and were destroyed by the burning of his residence. They added, that they had been accustomed, when they went into the country, to place that trunk, with its precious contents, in the bank; but had unfortunately on that occasion, deviated from their usual custom. Other Southern signatures, notably those of Middleton and Heyward, seem almost as difficult of procurement.

Intimately connected with a collection of autographs of the signers, are copies of the engraved portraits and views of the residences of the writers, for their proper illustration. Such engravings, judiciously selected, and properly mounted, add vastly to the interest and attractiveness of any set of the signers—indeed, they are quite indispensable.

As early as 1787, while our distinguished American painter, Col. John Trumbull, was yet in Europe, he seems to have formed the design of his great national picture of the signers —probably then painting Adams and Jefferson, our respective representatives at the courts of Great Britain and France, and probably obtaining their suggestions. In 1789, he painted portraits of such signers as were then in Congress; or, as he has recorded it in his autobiography, "I arranged carefully the composition for the 'Declaration of Independence,' and prepared it for receiving the portraits as I met with the distinguished men who were present at that illustrious scene." Again, in 1790, he records: "In May, I went to Philadelphia, where I obtained some portraits for my great work." In September, after passing some time in the country, he went to Boston and New Hampshire in quest of heads; and, in 1791, he says, "in February, I went to Charlestown, South Carolina, and there obtained portraits of the Rutledges, Pinckneys, Middletons, Laurens, Heyward, etc.

* * * In April, I sailed for Yorktown, * * * and then rode to Williamsburg, and obtained a drawing of Mr. Wythe for the 'Declaration.'" Washington, in a letter to La Fayette, November 21, 1791, spoke of "the greatness of the design, and the masterly execution of the work."

As a few of the members who were present when the declaration was passed on the 4th of July, retired before the engrossed copy was ready for signing, and thus failed to attach their names to the great American Magna Charta; while others, who were not present, but subsequently became members, affixed their signatures to the declaration. Col. Trumbull was embarrassed in determining how to treat these classes. He finally resolved to include all the signers, of whom he could obtain likenesses, and also those who were present when the declaration was enacted. Of this latter class, however, he, for some reason, omitted Henry Wisner, of New York, Charles Humphreys and Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania, and John Rogers,[1] of Maryland.

Speaking of the pictures of the signers, Col. Trumbull says: "All saw the correctness of the portraits. Many knew the accuracy of the countenances recorded." He has introduced forty-eight heads, and full-length portraits, into his grand representation—five of whom were not signers, namely, George Clinton, R. R. Livingston, Thomas Wharton, John Dickinson, who were in Congress when the act was passed, but not at the signing, and Charles Thomson, the secretary, whose name attests the accuracy of the document, and genuineness of the signatures of the signers. Of these forty-eight persons represented in the picture, Col. Trumbull seems to have faithfully painted thirty-eight from life, copied nine from other likenesses, and painted one, that of Harrison, from directions given him for the purpose.

In a letter written by Trumbull to Gen. W. H. Harrison, in February, 1818, he states: "Since I wrote you last, I have inquired of Mr. Peale, and have received for answer that he possesses no portrait of your father in his museum. My

[1] With reference to Rogers, see Etting's *History of Independence Hall*, pp. 85, 96, 100, 177.

sole reliance must, therefore, be on such description as you and his friend, Col. Meade, of Kentucky, can furnish me." As Col. Trumbull seems to have been faithful, painstaking, and conscientious, it is but fair to conclude, that he painted the Harrison portrait from the suggestions of Gen. Harrison and Col. Meade, and that his drawing was submitted to them, and met their approval. Mr. Brotherhead very pertinently asks: "Is it not better that we should have a portrait of Harrison under these conditions than have none at all?" We may fairly infer, as we hear of no similar cases, that Col. Trumbull met with no other obstacles in the procurement of the forty-eight portraits introduced into his great picture. The fullest confidence may be reposed in the integrity of Trumbull, and the genuineness of his portraits.

Of the other thirteen whose heads do not appear in the Declaration painting, eight had passed away before Col. Trumbull commenced securing likenesses for this purpose—Gwinnett, Morton, Ross, Hart, Taylor, Rodney, Stone, and Penn. Hall survived till 1790; Francis Lightfoot Lee, and Braxton, till 1797; Thornton till 1803, and Smith till 1806. Why these five survivors were not visited by him, and painted, is a matter of surprise and regret.

It was not till early in 1817, that Col. Trumbull received from Congress a commission to paint this, and three other historical pictures, for the rotunda of the capitol. The painting of the signers was first completed in October, 1818, when it was placed on public exhibition. Durand was employed in 1820 to engrave it; but it was not published till 1822, and is the original of the millions of copies of all sizes which have since been in circulation.

In 1849, William Hunt prepared the *Biographical Panorama*, printed by Joel Munsell, Albany, and illustrated with woodcuts, in which, among others, were included the thirteen deficiences of Trumbull's picture. In 1870, Mr. Burns commenced the publication of portraits of twenty-two of the signers, from drawings in the collection of Dr. Emmet. They were copied and engraved or etched by H. B. Hall, and more especially designed for purposes of illustration. The

twenty-two were made up of Bartlett, Thornton, Whipple, Ellery, Hopkins, Williams, Lewis Morris, Clark, Hart, Stockton, Smith, Taylor, Rodney, Braxton, Harrison, F. L. Lee, Nelson, Hooper, Penn, Gwinnett, Hall, and Walton; and Mr. Burns added Rutledge from Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers* —thus supplying, in the number, ten of the thirteen deficiencies of Trumbull, leaving only Ross, Stone, and Morton unrepresented. Fifty sets of these Burns engravings were issued, when the plates were destroyed.

Inquiries having been made concerning the origin of some of these twenty-two Burns engravings, notably that of Hart, prompted Dr. Emmet to write a statement of the matter, in October, 1872, to a friend, which has never been published; and which he has recently amended and enlarged at the instance of the writer of this paper. As thus corrected, it is well worthy of a place in this connection:

"I am very much obliged to you," writes Dr. Emmet, "for giving me the opportunity of explanation in regard to the origin of these Burns engravings, as I have been placed in a somewhat false position with reference to them. For many years, I have been illustrating Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers,* having had the whole book inlaid to folio; and, with the illustrations, it has now reached some twenty volumes. As but a small portion of the portraits of these gentlemen had ever been engraved, I had beautiful water-colored drawings made by H. B. Hall of all the signers given in Trumbull's large picture at the capitol at Washington, which contained all but thirteen of the fifty-six. They were copied from the original painting.

"There is a portrait given of Stockton, and also of Williams, in this Trumbull picture; but the Stockton engraved for Burns, was copied from a likeness sent me by his granddaughter, Mrs. George T. Olmsted, of Princeton—the same picture that is in Princeton College gallery. The head of this portrait had been cut out by an English officer during the Revolution, and it was thought for a long time to have been lost, but was at length found behind the picture where it had fallen when decapitated; but fortunately it was not so injured but that it could be, and was, restored.

"The Ellery, in the *American Biographical Panorama,* printed by Joel Munsell, in 1849, for Wm. Hunt, I found was the same as given in an unfinished plate, about the size of Trumbull's, from which I have the only impression I ever saw—the plate itself, in a damaged condition, is, I am told in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Of its history I know nothing.

"The Thornton likeness in the Hunt work was recognized by relatives as having been copied from a miniature then lost.

"The Williams was taken from a recently published history of the *Williams Family.* It resembles very closely the woodcut in the Hunt work, and both have the same peculiar manner of wearing the hair. The Francis Lightfoot Lee in Hunt's book, was evidently from the same source that Lossing obtained him, as given in the frontispiece to the second volume of his *Field Book;* the Burns engraving of Lee was from the Lossing copy. The Bartlett, in the Burns series, corresponded with a likeness I had traced to his family. The Hall likeness was taken from Brotherhead's *Book on the Signers:* while the Hart, Braxton, Gwinnett, Penn, and Thornton, were taken from engravings in Hunt's publication, which were copied to complete my series, and my friends, and all who have seen the collection, are familiar with their source.

"After Burns issued the series, a great-grandson of Hart wrote to know from what source I had obtained my copy, as it was recognized by other members of the family as a copy of the original which had been lost. A Mr. Thornton, then an officer of the army, wrote to Mr. T. B. Myers, of New York for information regarding the lost original, stating that the Burns engraving bore a remarkable resemblance to different members of the Hart family. I afterwards had a correspondence with a Hart descendant, a lawyer in Newburyport, who had been struck with the family resemblance, and wished to learn from what source it had been obtained. Since then, the Hart family have had a portrait painted from this engraving, and presented to the State of New Jersey, which now hangs in the capitol at Trenton.

"Compare the Braxton profile engravings as published by Burns from the Hunt work, with the full-faced etching recently issued, and there can be no doubt that both likenesses were from the same original.

"There are other curious circumstances and corroborations in regard to these Hunt likenesses, although so roughly executed. That of Lewis Morris is a case in point. I had never before seen a portrait of Morris, except in Trumbull's picture as a young man; and this Hunt representation bears a remarkable resemblance to his descendants now living in New York, with whom I have been personally acquainted both in the present and past generation.[1]

"A Miss Morris, of the family of Lewis Morris Jr., has stated to me, that the portrait of Lewis Morris, the signer, which this woodcut in Hunt so closely resembles, had been for many years in the possession of her father, near Willtown, South Carolina; but during Sherman's march, a party of officers stopped at the house to obtain some refreshments, which were prepared by the ladies of the family, who were alone. After the meal, one of the officers arose from the table, and with his sword destroyed this picture as he left the room. Miss Morris, on being shown the Hunt likeness of her ancestor, the signer, said that it had evidently been copied from the family portrait.

"The Morton was not engraved from the Hunt work, as his descendants held, that there never had been a portrait painted of him. Yet I now think, that this evidence proves nothing, except that they do not happen to know of any; for it was the custom of the day for every public man to have his portrait painted—and the family portraits were about the only wall decorations in use.

"The Smith and Taylor were copied from two woodcuts,

[1] Lossing, in his *Field Book*, and Brotherhead, in two editions of his *Book of the Signers*, substantially copy Trumbull; though Brotherhead, in the first edition of his work, reverses the view. W. A. P. Morris, of Madison, Wis., a grandson of the signer, has a likeness of his father, Gen. Jacob Morris; and both father and son, in addition to their baldness, indicate other points of resemblance to both the Morris engraving in the Burns' series, and in the Trumbull picture.

which I purchased, among some odds and ends, at the Tefft sale of autographs, in March, 1867; and were of much larger size, and of older date, but evidently from the same source as the woodcuts in the Hunt book—from some older work from which they were copied. The authenticity of these likenesses, however, must remain in doubt. I was surprised to find, that the Tefft woodcuts of Smith and Taylor, and the likenesses in Hunt's book were evidently from the same source, though the Hunt ones were only about half the size of the Tefft cuts. While this was on my mind, Dr. B. J. Lossing paid me a visit; and as he had been an engraver, I showed him one of the Tefft woodcuts, and asked him if he knew anything about them. He pointed to the engraver's name on the block, showing that the period when these cuts were made ante-dated Hunt's work—the engraver dying about 1820. These two woodcuts have since been lost.

"The Rodney was the only 'make-up' of the whole set issued by Burns. It was done by St. Memin, from the portrait of the signer's nephew, Cæsar A. Rodney, whose profile bore a remarkable resemblance to his uncle, as I had been informed by different members of his family.

"Regarding Hunt's *Panorama*, so often referred to in connection with the Burns engravings, I may add, that it was evidently written for the purpose of using a number of odd plates and wood-blocks of different styles, originally gotten up for other purposes. Munsell told me, that he knew nothing of the origin of the portraits, beyond the fact that he had to take a lot of old plates for a bad debt, and these were among the collection—and the book was written to utilize them.

"And yet Mr. Munsell has, in a playful way, stated in the catalogue of his imprints, that these engravings were the result of the imagination of a young English artist, closeted in a room, and inspired by beer and tobacco. I never saw a man laugh more heartily than Munsell did, when telling the late F. S. Hoffman and myself how easily he gulled a friend of his with the story of shutting up an English engraver to prepare a set of the signers for him; that this friend seemed to want something of the kind, so he gave him a tough yarn.

"But, instead of these Hunt engravings being a cheat and deception, it is evident that those of them with which we are familiar, are fair, as regards likenesses, though very poorly executed. The volume is filled with portraits, and many of them we can identify by comparison with other likenesses, so that it is evident that the artist had an original to copy from in almost every instance.

"Mr. Burns did a good work in adding so many authentic portraits, while the uncertain ones, to complete the series, were done by request, for illustrations. I wish that we had authentic portraits for the whole number; but until they can be found, I shall be satisfied with what I have, feeling that full justice has been done them in the ideal, if ever proved so. I believe that portraits once existed of the whole; for the custom was too general at the time these men lived, and they may yet be found. But until then, no one can say positively, that some of these portraits are without foundation—for the opposite opinion could be as well held."

These views of Dr. Emmet are thoughtful and judicious. Another well-known and intelligent collector, Robert C. Davis, of Philadelphia, remarks: "Some of Mr. Burns' series of the signers are doubtful; but if we desire to illustrate their writings, what better can we do?" We may feel thankful that we have so many likenesses of the signers that are of such well-established excellence and authenticity; and of the few uncertain ones, we may very properly treasure them in our illustrations until more reliable ones can be discovered.

One such discovery has recently occurred, as is learned from Mr. Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia, who writes: "At the New Orleans Exhibition of 1885, I found a photograph of Carter Braxton, in the Virginia display. On inquiry, at Richmond, it turned out to be genuine, and we have etched it." Dr. Fogg, of Boston, writes that, in his opinion, the Bartlett likeness of the Hall series bears no resemblance to the painting of that signer by Trumbull, preserved in the old homestead at Stratham, N. H., which has been engraved at private hands, a copy of which he sent to the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is believed, too, that there is a likeness of Lynch

extant, as it has been promised by his friends for Independence Hall.

Might it not be better to have the Morton likeness, from Hunt's *Panorama* reproduced, or one made from prominent family traits suggested by its members, rather than have none at all?

Since Dr. Emmet penned his statement, touching Hunt's *Panorama* and its engravings of the signers, he calls attention to the fact, which he had overlooked, that while Hunt's work appeared in 1849, Dr. Lossing had published *early in the preceding year,* his *Lives of the Signers,* giving forty-nine woodcuts of the signers, lacking only Thornton, Hart, Morton, Rodney, Braxton, Penn, and Gwinnett; and what is significant, is that all of these forty-nine likenesses, together with that of R. R. Livingston, are precisely the same as those in Hunt's book, with slight changes, in some instances, in bust or costume, but not in facial expression. Dr. Lossing must have had good foundation for all these representations—giving five more than Trumbull; so that Hunt, after all copying from Lossing, had high authority for most of the woodcut engravings of the signers given in his *Panorama.*

The Ellery, Lewis Morris, Smith, and Taylor likenesses discussed by Dr. Emmet, are thus shown to have been originally brought forward by Dr. Lossing, a year in advance of Hunt. While in his work on the *Signers,* Lossing gives George Taylor, as copied by Hunt; yet from mere accident this Taylor likeness was omitted in his engraving of the signers, prefixed to the second volume of his *Field Book of the Revolution,* published four years later.

Dr. Emmet makes reference to Mr. Lossing's likeness of Francis Lightfoot Lee in his representation of the signers. Much credit is due Dr. Lossing for the pains he took in perfecting this engraving. Forty-eight of the signers are represented in the picture, together with R. R. Livingston, one of the declaration committee, not present at the signing. Besides F. L. Lee, Dr. Lossing introduces four others, not given by Trumbull—Smith, Ross, Stone, and Hall. The eight not appearing on Lossing's picture are Thornton, Hart, Taylor, Morton, Rodney, Braxton, Penn, and Gwinnett.

Aside from the group of the declaration committee, Dr. Lossing thinks he did not copy largely from Trumbull. In his extensive travels over our country in quest of historical matter, and while visiting the families of the signers, he, with the eye of an artist, not unfrequently discovered better delineations, and thus availed himself of his rare opportunities for improvement. But after a lapse of forty years, and having gathered and engraved so many hundred likenesses, he writes that he cannot at this late day, recall the sources from which he obtained them. His picture of the signers must ever be regarded as invaluable by all who take an interest in the pictorial literature of the country.

Dr. Emmet also refers to the Ellery likeness in Hunt's *Panorama* as being the same as that given in an unfinished plate, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. At the sale of the literary effects, some ten or a dozen years ago, of the late W. P. Wiggins, a book-dealer of Boston, Mr. Burns, of New York, purchased a copy of an engraving of the "Signing of the Declaration," very different from Trumbull's, some of the signers having only the heads, but the plate contained a large number of the signers; that Mr. Wiggins, learning of the plate, got permission to have a few impressions taken from it. Dr. Emmet has the impression obtained by Mr Burns. Dr. S. A. Green states, that the unfinished copper plate, about twenty-two by twenty-eight inches in size, was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1859, by Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, who says that he obtained it from the treasurer of the Revere Copper Company of Boston. The treasurer received it among a lot of scrap copper, and was curious to learn something of its history; but was unable to discover anything. The artist is unknown, and the plate itself reveals nothing of its origin.

The Morton engraving in Hunt's *Biographical Panorama,* Mr. Charles Roberts writes, does not, he is informed, resemble the family. "I remember," he adds, "John S. Morton, who lived near us, and our families visited. I understand that he made every effort to obtain a portrait of his ancestor, the signer, but without success; and placed a tablet in-

stead in Independence Hall. I am satisfied that there is no authentic portrait of Morton." Mr. Stauffer adds: "There is no portrait extant of Morton, save one through a mediumistic source—the family have none; every branch having been diligently interviewed."

The late B. B. Thatcher, of Boston, a noted *litterateur* and autograph collector of his day, declared, over fifty years ago, that the formation of a set of autographs of the signers of the declaration of independence was the *ne plus ultra* of American collectors—many having attempted it, and but few succeeded. Brotherhead, in his monograph on his visit to Mr. Dreer's collection of autographs, in 1857, speaking of his full set of the signers, adds: "We know many industrious collectors, and they find it very difficult to collect even those that are considered the most common. In a few years, such a collection will bring an extraordinary price;" and in the first edition of his *Book of the Signers*, 1861, he says: "Both at home and abroad, every document, letter, or signature from the hand of a signer, has become valuable; and the autographs of some of these worthies, it is almost impossible to obtain. A complete set is of the extremest rarity"—adding, that autographs of Heyward, Ross, Harrison, Hall, Livingston, and Hopkins are scarce; while those of Lewis Morris, Stockton, Hart, Morton, Taylor, Wythe, Penn, Hewes, Lynch, Middleton, and Gwinnett "are almost impossible to obtain, even a signature; and that others are becoming rare, and bear a high value in proportion to their scarcity." Mr. Burns declared, in 1870, when the supply was less exhausted than now, that a collection of autographs of the signers was by no means easy to be brought together; while the late Mr. Sabin, a year later, said that "the formation of a set now is excessively difficult."

It is, therefore, no small marvel that our Society should, at this late day, have succeeded in completing our collection, after a quarter of a century's efforts—aided by that prince of autograph collectors, Charles De F. Burns, of New York. Our set is as yet unbound, purposely delaying that final completion of the work, with the hope of possibly substituting full letters for some of the five signed documents of

Hart, Morton, Heyward, Middleton, and Gwinnett—the chances are, however, too faint to warrant an expectation; and of the other, the Lynch signature, which is a good one, there is not the least prospect whatever of improving it. Another motive for delay in binding the collection, is to add somewhat to the number of engravings for appropriate illustrations.

When ultimately bound, they might possibly be compressed into three volumes; one for each of the old divisions of the Union—the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States. But it is much more probable, that the accumulation of illustrative matter, views and engravings, will render it advisable to extend the number of volumes to perhaps eight—viz.: New Hampshire and Massachusetts, with their illustrations, eight signers; Rhode Island and Connecticut, six; New York and New Jersey, nine; Pennsylvania, nine; Delaware and Maryland, seven; Virginia, seven; North and South Carolina and Georgia, ten. The eighth volume to be composed of facsimiles of the declaration, a printed broadside of the declaration, published by order of the general assembly of Rhode Island, July 12, 1776, a copy of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 10, 1776, containing the declaration; together with autographs of Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, and of those members, who voted on the question, but were not present when the engrossed copy of the declaration was subsequently signed.

Such an arrangement of the autograph letters and documents, with appropriate illustrations, and letterpress of Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers*, with perhaps selections from Brotherhead's *Book of the Signers*, all inlaid, and properly bound, would present a noble record of the Fathers of American Independence.

A brief catalogue of our Society's set of these almost priceless letters and documents cannot prove otherwise than interesting—noting their dates, number of pages, general condition, and, in some instances, the matter to which they relate.

An explanation seems proper of the abbreviations used in describing different kinds of autographs, with their relative

rank or value. In making a collection of autographs, all seek to obtain, if possible, A. L. S.—*autograph letters signed*—as the best and highest class of specimens. Some regard L. S.—*letters signed,* the body written by a clerk—as next in rank of desirableness; but it would seem that A. D. S.—*autograph documents signed,* entirely in the handwriting of the signer—should be preferred. D. S.—*documents signed,* whether printed, or written by another; and cut signatures are the least desirable autographs; yet they often serve to complete sets when nothing better can be obtained. Collectors constantly endeavor to improve all these classes by better specimens, in date, size, subject matter, or condition.

New Hampshire Delegation

1. Josiah Bartlett, A. L. S.—*autograph letter signed*—December 6, 1794, one page, in good condition.

2. William Whipple, A. L. S., September 7, 1779, two pages, in good condition, addressed to his associate signer, Mr. Bartlett, congratulating his friend on "the late happy event between England and Spain"—i. e., their getting by the ears, by which the struggling young Republic hoped to profit.

3. Matthew Thornton, A. L. S., October 9, 1775, one page, in good condition.

Massachusetts Delegation

4. John Hancock, A. L. S., September 9, 1780, one page, in good condition.

5. Samuel Adams, A. L. S., March 14th, 1768, addressed to the people of Boston, which, says that experienced and competent judge of autographs, C. De F. Burns, "is really the most satisfactory specimen of the name I have ever had." It covers two pages, dated, signed, and in the handwriting of Mr. Adams—a beautiful sample of chirography, finely preserved. It conveys facts of interest concerning the poverty of the Bostonians, and its causes, a few years anterior to the Revolution, viz.:

To the Free-holders and other Inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Annual Town Meeting assembled, March 14th, 1768:

The Memorial of Samuel Adams showeth:

That your Memoralist was chosen by said Town in the year 1764, a Collector of Taxes,—in which capacity he had before served the Town for nine years successively—and being duly sworn, had the Province, Town and County taxes, assessed the same year, accordingly committed to him to collect; at the same time he became bound to the Town Treasurer, with suretys, in the penal sums of Five thousand Pounds for the payment of the same into the respective Treasurys.

That with all possible diligence, and with his best discretion, he attended his duty; but was greatly retarded by means of the small pox, which then prevailed in the Town, and other obstructions: So that he was unable to make any great Progress, till a new year came on, when a new Tax was levied, on the same Persons who remained indebted to him as aforesaid, which Tax was committed to another person to collect. That the Town cannot be unmindful of the difficulties which the next year ensued, by Reason of the Stamp Act, and the Confusion consequent thereupon; which in a great Measure interrupted the course of Business of every kind. By all which there became a Burden of three years' taxes upon those Persons, many of them at least, who had not paid your Memorialist for the said year 1764.

That the Town, the last year, saw fit to direct their Treasurer to put the Bond afore'd in suit; which he accordingly did, and obtained a Judgment thereon; and altho' your Mem'st has since been able to lessen the sum by Payments into the Treasury, yet there still remains a large balance due, which your Treasurer, if called on, can ascertain.

Now your Memorialist prays the Town to take the matter, with all its circumstances, into candid consideration, and grant him a further Time to collect his out-standing Debts, that he may be enabled thereby to compleat the Obligation of his Bonds: Or otherwise, that the Town will do that which to them shall seem good.

. With all due respects to the Town,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

6. JOHN ADAMS, A. L. S., November 7, 1789, two pages, in good condition.

7. ROBERT TREAT PAINE A. L. S., February 11, 1792, two pages, in good condition.

8. ELBRIDGE GERRY, A. L. S., April 27, 1814, one page, in good condition.

Rhode Island Delegation

9. Stephen Hopkins, A. L. S., June 17, 1758—a note to the house of deputies of that province, about surgeons for the R. I. regiment then in service, one page, in good condition.

10. William Ellery, A. L. S., May 21, 1786, one page, in good condition.

Connecticut Delegation

11. Roger Sherman, A. L. S., July 26, 1765, one page, in good condition.

12. Samuel Huntington, A. L. S., April 28, 1785, two pages, in good condition.

13. Oliver Wolcott, A. L. S., June 17, 1786, one page, in good condition.

New York Delegation

15. William Floyd, A. L. S., dated Philadelphia, August 10, 1776, expressing anxiety to hear about the situation of affairs after the British invasion on Long Island, where he then resided. "What has become of Gen. Woodhull, Mr. Hobart, Treadwell and Smith—what about my family—who escaped, or what must they submit to?" Two pages, in good condition.

16. Philip Livingston, A. L. S., November 11, 1751, one page, in good condition.

17. Francis Lewis, A. L. S., July 13, 1779, one page, in good condition. "Doctor Witherspoon and Col. Atlee," writes Mr. Lewis, "two of the committee sent to Bennington, are returned, and yesterday offered their report to congress, who were of opinion that it could not be officially received, as the two others from Connecticut did not join them at the conference. * * * Our cruisers have of late been successful—two valuable prizes arrived here yesterday and the day before."

18. Lewis Morris, A. L. S., March 6, 1784, one page, in good condition.

New Jersey Delegation

19. Richard Stockton, A. L. S., April 5, 1779, on land matters, one page, in good condition.

20. John Witherspoon, A. L. S., December 19, 1785, one page, in good condition.

21. Francis Hopkinson, A. L. S., July 31, 1777—instructions to Capts. Barry and Reed, two pages, in good condition.

22. John Hart, A. D. S., an account of two pages, and endorsement, January 1, 1778, in good condition.

23. Abraham Clark, A. L. S., January 9, 1794, one page, in good condition.

Pennsylvania Delegation

24. Robert Morris, A. L. S., March 18, 1795, one page, in good condition—acknowledging the receipt of the sword of the late Admiral Paul Jones, which Mr. Morris says he "presented to Com. John Barry, the senior officer of the present American navy, who will never disgrace it."

25. Benjamin Rush, A. L. S., July 25, 1796, two pages, in good condition.

26. Benjamin Franklin, A. L. S., London, May 2, 1770—addressed to Noble Wimberly Jones, speaker of the assembly, Georgia:

"Sir.—Your favor of February 21, was duly delivered to me by Mr. Preston, I immediately bespoke the Mace agreeable to your orders, and was assured it should be worked upon with diligence, so that I hope to have it ready to send with the Gowns by a ship that I understand goes directly to Georgia sometime next month. By the estimation of the Jeweller, who undertook it, the cost will not exceed £80. What the Gowns will amount to, I have not yet learnt; but suppose £100 will be more than sufficient for the whole. I esteem myself highly honored by your Government in being appointed, as you inform me, a second time their Agent. I shall rejoice in any opportunity of rendering effectual service to the Province. I beg you will present my thankful acknowledgments to the several branches of your Legislature, and assure them of my faithful endeavors in the execution of any commands I may receive from them."

27. John Morton, D. S., a commission as speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly, July 8, 1776, in good condition.

28. George Clymer, A. L. S., May 7, 1794, one page, in good condition.

29. James Smith, A. L. S., August 2, 1779, one page, in good condition.

30. George Taylor, A. L. S., April 18, 1757, one page, in good condition.

31. James Wilson, A. L. S., June 18, 1792, three pages, in good condition—on land matters, addressed to Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, with a page of holograph notes of Mr. Carroll's reply.

32. George Ross, A. L. S., January 20, 1779, one page, in good condition.

Delaware Delegation

33. Cæsar Rodney, A. L. S., August 13, 1779, one page, in good condition.

34. George Read, A. L. S., September 25, 1797, two pages, in good condition.

35. Thomas McKean, A. L. S., January 4, 1787, one page, in good condition.

Maryland Delegation

36. Samuel Chase, A. L. S., March 16, 1785, on business matters, three pages, in good condition.

37. William Paca, A. L. S., April 5, 1772, one page, in good condition.

38. Thomas Stone, A. L. S., May 26, 1786, two pages, in good condition.

39. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, A. L. S., July 18, 1790, one page, in good condition. Also a letter from the signer's father, dated August 3, 1775, addressed to "Dear Charley"—and directed to "Charles Carroll, of Carrollton."

Virginia Delegation

40. George Wythe, A. L. S., April 26, 1790, one page, in good condition.

41. Richard Henry Lee, A. L. S., January 20, 1793, two pages, in good condition.

42. Thomas Jefferson, A. L. S., August 7, 1814, business matters, two pages, in good condition.

43. Benjamin Harrison, A. L. S., May 11, 1788, two pages, in good condition.

44. Thomas Nelson, Jr., A. L. S., July 30, 1785, business matters, three pages, in good condition.

45. Francis Lightfoot Lee, A. L. S., May 3, 1771, three pages, in good condition.

46. Carter Braxton, A. L. S., September 8, 1784, two pages, in good condition.

North Carolina Delegation

47. William Hooper, A. L. S., August 2, 1788, two pages, in good condition.

48. Joseph Hewes, A. L. S., May 15, 1776, one page, in good condition; stating that about three tons of powder had been voted by Congress for the use of North Carolina, and had been forwarded in twenty-five pork barrels, in three wagons.

49. John Penn, A. L. S., June 7, 1778, one page, in good condition.

South Carolina Delegation

50. Edward Rutledge, A. L. S., May 12, 1795, two pages, in good condition.

51. Thomas Heyward, Jr., document signed, March 29, 1788, in good condition.

Also an autograph document, attributed to him, but, probably, only a copy, not signed, two pages of doggerel—entitled "A song made at St. Augustine," no date, but during 1780–81, while a prisoner there, captured at the surrender of Charleston. This song in part appears in Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution,* pages 269–270, and entire in *American Antiquarian,* May, 1871. Garden, in his *Anecdotes,* mentions that Judge Heyward wrote patriotic songs, with which to enliven his fellow prisoners, copies of which were made for their use.

While there is little doubt that Judge Heyward composed the song preserved in this copy, yet, on comparison of this manuscript with his autograph signature, and facsimile of his chirography, it is questionable if this is a holograph

copy—it is, at least, an ancient transcript, made in 1780–81, by one of his associates at St. Augustine.

52. Thomas Lynch, Jr., signature only, from the fly-leaf of a book which once belonged to him—certified by Rev. Dr. Samuel Gilman, of Charleston, that he presented Lynch signatures to I. K. Tefft; with Rev. Dr. W. B. Sprague's certificate, that he obtained this signature from Mr. Tefft, which he transferred to Dr. Emmet, from whom Mr. Burns obtained it for this collection. Fortunate, indeed, is the collector who gets a genuine Lynch signature, even though it be but a signature only.

53. Arthur Middleton, document signed, May 20, 1782, in good condition.

Georgia Delegation

54. Button Gwinnett, document signed, May 6, 1777, in good condition. Gwinnett's autograph, like Lynch's, is exceedingly rare.

55. Lyman Hall, A. L. S., March 30, 1759, one page, in good condition.

56. George Walton, A. L. S., February 24, 1784, two pages, in good condition.

Thus the catalogue shows fifty full autograph letters in the collection of our Society, of which those of Floyd and Hewes were written in 1776, and ten others during the Revolutionary period. There is no hope of improving the Lynch signature, which is a good one; while the prospect of bettering the others, Hart, Morton, Heyward, Middleton, and Gwinnett is scarcely more encouraging. As it is, the set is a fine one, in good condition throughout; and the members of our Society may well felicitate themselves in the possession of so rich a treasure.

In addition to these fifty-six autographs proper of the signers of the declaration, we have, to appropriately accompany them, an A. L. S., August 11, 1783, of Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, whose name attests the passage, and the signing, of the declaration; also an A. L. S. of Robert R. Livingston, August 2, 1810, one page, in good condition, referring to his flocks of sheep and wool;

an A. L. S. of Henry Wisner, October 9, 1778, one page, somewhat stained, otherwise in good condition; and an A. L. S. of George Clinton, August 2, 1794, referring to supplies for the frontiers of New York, one page, in good condition. Livingston was one of the drafting committee of the declaration, while Clinton and Wisner's votes were recorded in its favor; but, unfortunately for their fame, all three were called away from Congress by public duties at home, before the final engrossment of the document on parchment for the signatures of the members—Livingston even before the vote upon its passage; but all were in hearty accord with the measure, and in full faith that the times and the circumstances demanded its adoption.

There is also in the collection an A. L. S. of John Dickinson, of the Pennsylvania delegation, September 8, 1787, in good condition. He had for many years been one of the most steady and powerful opponents of the arbitrary measures of Great Britain against the colonies; but when independence was brought forward, he opposed it in debate and vote as premature. There was no better patriot in the country; and though temporarily retired from Congress, he was the next year made a brigadier-general of Pennsylvania militia, and two years later re-entered Congress as a member from Delaware. His services were important to his country. He died in 1808, in his seventy-sixth year.

Mr. Niles, in his *Weekly Register* of January 3, 1818, relates this interesting incident of Dickinson, "as showing the power of the *mind* abstracted from personal sensibilities: "Fifteen or sixteen years ago, then residing at Wilmington, Delaware, as I passed the house of the late venerable John Dickinson, at 12 o'clock in the day, he was standing in the door, and invited me in. After reproving me for not having called to see him, for he had been a little unwell, he said that he would have a glass of wine with me—the first that he had drank for six weeks. After taking a couple of glasses in instant succession, he suddenly sat down, and abruptly asked me, what I thought of the discussion then going on in Congress on the great question about the judiciary?[1] Having very briefly given my opinion, he said in a

[1] This discussion occurred during the session of Congress of 1801–02.

sprightly manner, 'I'll tell thee mine'—on which he began an argument, soon he became animated, and was uneasy in his seat. As he proceeded, he elevated his voice, and, finally, rising slowly and unconsciously from his chair, he put forth his hand, and addressed me as if I had been the chairman of a legislative body, with all its members present. I never have heard a discourse that was comparable to this speech for its fire and spirit, poured forth like a torrent, and clothed in the most beautiful and persuasive language. The graceful gestures of the orator, his fine and venerable figure, interesting countenance, and locks 'white as wool,' formed a *tout ensemble* that riveted me to the chair with admiration.

"His delirium, if it may be so called, lasted nearly half an hour, when it was interrupted by one of the family entering the room. He stopped instantly, with a word half-finished on his lips, and sat down in great confusion—apologized for his strange behavior, and entirely dropped the subject. Mr. Dickinson was an elegant speaker, and one of the most accomplished scholars that our country has produced; but, perhaps, he never pronounced a speech so eloquent, so chaste, and so beautiful, as that which he delivered before me as stated. It was his *soul* rather than his person that acted on the occasion, and a *master-spirit* it was.[1] The argument was in favor of a repeal of the judiciary act."

[1] It cannot reasonably be charged, or suspected, that this was a case of simulation on the part of Mr. Dickinson. Conceding Mr. Niles as a credible and reliable witness, then indeed, a "master spirit" must have controlled this great statesman of the Revolution on this notable occasion. Mr. Niles had all his life mingled with the great orators of our country, and must have been familiar with their forensic efforts, and yet declares that he "never heard a discourse that was comparable to this speech."

Such an exhibition serves to remind us of the experiences recorded in the Bible—"the gift of tongues," "spiritual gifts," which the Rev. Drs. McClintock and Strong, in their *Cyclopedia of Religious Literature*, pronounce as "utterances of a spiritual kind;" or, as Smith, in his *Dictionary of the Bible*, defines spiritual gifts as "a distinctly linguistic power."

Whatever may be the definition of this power, as God is the same yesterday, to-day and forever, and both He and his laws alike unchangeable, we may very properly conclude, that what was permissible in the days of Pentecost, when men began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance, was permissible with John Dickinson, and also with trance-speakers of modern times.

Prominent among the few negative votes to the declaration was that of Joseph Galloway, also of the Pennsylvania delegation, who had long filled a conspicuous position in the affairs of that colony. After opposing independence, and retiring from Congress, he became a Tory, and went to England. An autograph document with his signature, August 7, 1757, is included in the collection.

Catalogue of autographs of the signers of the constitution, belonging to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin:

New Hampshire Delegation

1. John Langdon, A. L. S., October 20, 1809, three pages, in good condition.

2. Nicholas Gilman, A. L. S., February 9, 1791, one page, in good condition.

Massachusetts Delegation

3. Nathaniel Gorham, A. L. S., May 26, 1791, one page, in good condition.

4. Rufus King, A. L. S., September 20, 1822, one page, in good condition.

Connecticut Delegation

5. William Samuel Johnson, A. L. S., August 25, 1772, one page, in good condition.

6. Roger Sherman, A. L. S., August 28, 1787, one page, in good condition.

New York Delegation

7. Alexander Hamilton, A. L. S., October 7, 1794, one page, in good condition.

New Jersey Delegation

8. William Livingston, A. L. S., June 4, 1784, one page, in good condition.

9. David Brearley, A. L. S., May 21, 1783, two pages, in good condition.

10. Jonathan Dayton, A. L. S., September 26, 1808, one page, in good condition.

11. William Paterson, A. L. S., November 29, 1783, one page, in good condition.

Pennsylvania Delegation

12. Benjamin Franklin, A. L. S., January 1, 1779, one page, in good condition.

13. Thomas Mifflin, A. L. S., March 30, 1787, one page, in good condition.

14. Robert Morris, A. L. S., December 21, 1786, one page, in good condition.

15. George Clymer, A. L. S., January 7, 1799, one page, in good condition.

16. Thomas Fitzsimmons, A. L. S., May 13, 1786, one page, in good condition.

17. Jared Ingersoll, A. L. S., January 27, 1789, one page, in good condition.

18. James Wilson, A. L. S., June 29, 1792, two pages, in good condition.

19. Gouverneur Morris, A. L. S., December 23, 1805, one page, in good condition.

Delaware Delegation

20. George Read, A. L. S., June 10, 1787, one page, in good condition.

21. Dunning Bedford, A. L. S., February 3, 1810, two pages, in good condition.

22. John Dickinson, A. L. S., August 4, 1788, one page, in good condition. It is addressed to Dr. Rush, tendering his "heartiest congratulations on the adoption by the eleventh State," of the new constitution.

23. Richard Bassett, A. L. S., January 1, 1811, one page, in good condition.

24. Jacob Broom, A. L. S., May 16, 1807, one page, in good condition.

Maryland Delegation

25. James McHenry, A. L. S., March 10, 1780, two pages, in good condition.

26. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, A. L. S., December 12, 1785, one page, in good condition.

27. Daniel Carroll, A. L. S., August 16, 1783, one page, in good condition.

Virginia Delegation

28. John Blair, A. L. S., March 20, 1787, two pages, in good condition.

29. James Madison, A. L. S., February 22, 1823, one page, in good condition.

30. George Washington, A. L. S., August 28, 1796, one page, in good condition—returning thanks for a Fourth of July oration.

North Carolina Delegation

31. William Blount, A. L. S., July 5, 1797, one page, in good condition. This letter is interesting, as referring to his impeachment, and expulsion from the United States Senate, apparently addressed to some friend in Tennessee, where he resided:

"In a few days," he writes, "you will see published, by order of congress, a letter said to have been written by me to James Carey. It makes a damnable fuss here. I hope, however, the people upon the Western Waters will see nothing but good in it, for so I intended it—especially for Tennessee. When I shall be in Tennessee is uncertain; but come when I will, I trust they will view that particular act as well-intended, as all my political conduct ever has been towards them.

"I leave Philadelphia in a few hours, probably not to return to it shortly. Allison is *incog.* Nothing is done for you. You had best look to yourself. I suspect the Natchez will not now suit you. Byers is a rascal."

32. Richard Dobbs Spaight, A. L. S., February 25, 1794, one page, in good condition.

33. Hugh Williamson, A. L. S., August 4, 1778, one page, in good condition.

South Carolina Delegation

34. John Rutledge, A. L. S., April 18, 1778, one page, an introduction, in good condition.

35. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, A. L. S., March 16, 1815, three pages, in good condition.

36. Charles Pinckney, A. L. S., no date (but written in 1807), three pages, in good condition.

37. Pierce Butler, A. L. S., January 15, 1808, two pages, in good condition.

Georgia Delegation

38. William Few, A. L. S., January 9, 1790, one page, in good condition.

39. Abraham Baldwin, A. L. S., January 26, 1791, one page, in good condition.

Also an A. L. S. of Col. William Jackson, November 2, 1797, the secretary of the convention, who attested the constitution, one page, in good condition.

This enumeration of the sets of the signers of the declaration and of the constitution, possessed by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, presents a fine array of autographs in their line of collection, exceeded in only a few instances in the declaration series; while the signers of the constitution are represented by full autograph letters in every instance, and four were written in the year the constitution was formed, 1787.

A subject so interesting warrants a reference to similar collections extant, so far as the best attainable information, derived from the principal autograph collectors of the country, will enable us to describe them. The known full sets of the signers of the declaration are only twenty-two; and from the rarity of several of the autographs, the number can never be very much increased.

In noticing these several collections, it is necessary to establish some rules of precedence. On the whole, it would appear most proper to fix upon the number of full autograph letters in a collection; though their character and condition—whether pretty uniformly in folio or quarto size—and the extent of their illustrations, should have their influence in determining their relative standing. A few collectors have made an interesting consideration of enhanced interest and value, of letters bearing date in the declaration year, 1776.

In view of the almost insurmountable difficulties in mak-

ing a complete collection of the signers of the declaration, it is not a little singular that more sets of the signers of the constitution have not been brought together. The declaration signers number fifty-six—those of the constitution only thirty-nine; so there are only about two-thirds as many of the latter as of the former, and none of them so practically unobtainable as are several of the signers of the declaration. While the statistics show twenty-two sets of the declaration signers, but sixteen full sets of the constitution signers are known to exist.

Other Collections of Declaration Signers

I.—Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, New York. His best set—for he has three—takes precedence by common consent. It includes fifty-four full autograph letters of the fifty-six signers, the only exceptions being Morton, an autograph document signed, and Gwinnett, a very fine specimen of a document signed. This is the only set in existence which has a genuine full letter of Thomas Lynch, Jr. It was addressed to Washington, and obtained by Dr. Emmet from Dr. Sprague, in a partial exchange, practically costing Dr. Emmet some seven hundred dollars. Twenty letters of this collection were written in 1776, and a number of them refer to the great declaration; of these, Clark's is dated July 14th, in that year, F. L. Lee's, July 16th, Wilson's, July 25th, and Hewes, July 28th, and an important A. D. S. of Hancock, July 11th. But the acknowledged excellence of this set is greatly enhanced by the elaborate extent of its illustrations. Dr. Emmet's patience and success in bringing together his illustrative matter is not merely remarkable, but is truly wonderful—greatly excelling any effort of the kind ever attempted.

Taking the historical matter of Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers,* and the whole of Brotherhead's *Book of the Signers,* as the basis, all inlaid to folio size, Dr. Emmet has extended the work to twenty volumes. The illustrations are almost innumerable, including twelve hundred autographs, many valuable historical documents, old newspapers, original water-color portraits of the signers, together with a large

number of portraits of the Revolutionary period, many of which are now almost extinct, of persons mentioned in the papers or text, rare contemporaneous views of places, coats of arms of states, and many other appropriate illustrations, all inlaid by Trent on Whatman's drawing paper, of a uniform royal folio size. When completed, says Mr. Burns, "it will be the grandest monument ever erected to the memory of the signers by private hands; and on it, no expense has been spared, and the print collections of both continents laid under heavy contributions."

Among the unique illustrations of this noble set of the signers are two early printed broadsides of the declaration. One must have been issued as early as July 5, 1776, as John Adams on that day enclosed a copy to a lady correspondent, the letter to whom, now in Mr. Dreer's collection, is copied into Dr. Gilman's paper on the Tefft autographs. But the second one, which was sent out by order of Congress, January 18, 1777, to each of the States for a public record, also in printed form, is properly attested by their own signs-manual, by Secretary Thomson and President Hancock. Both of these broadsides are about fifteen by eighteen inches in size.

To give some idea of the cost of such indulgences: "In one way or another," writes Dr. Emmet, "I have spent some twenty-five thousand dollars on the set, and have not yet gotten it to my satisfaction." All will agree, that the right man undertook this herculean labor, and has never faltered for a moment in its prosecution.

While Dr. Emmet's best set of the signers has been scattered through these twenty volumes of illustrations, he begins to fear that they will be measurably lost in such a distribution, and is considering whether he may not supply this work with a less valuable fourth set, which yet lacks two specimens for its completion; and then put the best set in a special volume, with portrait engravings, short printed sketches, and facsimiles of autographs, etc.

But Dr. Emmet's three sets of the signers of the declaration of independence, and a fourth, but recently completed,

and his collection of the signers of the constitution, are by no means the only autograph groupings he has made. His tastes, it will be seen, lead him to profusely and tastefully illustrate them all. His entire collection numbers fifty-two volumes, divided into the following groups or series.

1. The best set of signers of the declaration of independence, already described, twenty volumes.

2. The Continental Congress, 1774–1789, of whose membership Dr. Emmet has autographs of over three hundred and sixty; illustrated by two hundred and thirty-eight portraits, having had several specially made for this purpose—seventy-two of the whole number are believed to be without likenesses. Dr. Emmet has been many years engaged on this collection—gathering materials for a biographical sketch of each member, to be printed especially for this series; and when thus completed, it will embrace six volumes, a wonderful collection, including a large amount of American biography to be found nowhere else.

3. The third set of the signers is nicely arranged with Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers,* in eight volumes, fully illustrated.

4. The signers of the constitution, already adverted to, in one volume.

5. The Albany Congress of 1754, twenty-five members, representing seven colonies, in one volume. The printed illustrative matter is from the second volume of *Documentary History of New York,* and from Sir Wm. Johnson's papers, giving an account of that Congress.

6. The stamp act Congress, 1765, twenty-three members, representing nine colonies, one volume. The printed matter has been taken from Hughes' account in the second volume of Hazard's *Register,* originally appearing in Almon's *Prior Documents,* p. 45, *et seq.,* and includes the credentials and journals.

7. The first Continental Congress, 1774, fifty-two members, from twelve colonies, one volume. With this set of autographs of the delegates, Henry Armitt Brown's oration on the one hundredth anniversary of the meeting of this

congress, was inlaid, with the addition of specially printed matter appropriate to the collection.

8. Signers of the articles of confederation, 1778, forty-one autographs, representing thirteen colonies, one volume.

9. The generals of the Revolution, both continental and State, eigthy-six specimens. This collection has been selected with the greatest care, so that there is scarcely an autograph which is not of especial historical value. Griswold's *Washington and his Generals,* in two volumes, has been brought into requisition for this group, all inlaid, and extended to eight folio volumes, illustrated with portraits, newspapers of the day, and three hundred and forty-one autographs.

10. Presidents of the old Congress, and presidents and vice-presidents of the United States, nearly fifty fine specimens, one volume. Dr. Emmet wrote, and had printed for this collection, a sketch of each president of Congress, etc., on a single page, to face the autograph and engraving.

11. Paper money issued by the colonies, about two thousand specimens, all inlaid, with a printed account of each issue, extended to three volumes.

12. Paper money issued by Congress. Samuel Breck's *Historical Sketch of Paper Money,* 1843, as republished in 1863, with an appendix giving in full the issues and denominations, used as the basis for this collection, inlaid to folio size, and illustrated, one volume.

All these volumes have special title-pages printed for them, with printed text, head and tail pieces.

Dr. Emmet was born near Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1828. His father, John P. Emmet, was then, and for a period of nineteen years professor of chemistry and natural history in the University of Virginia. Dr. Emmet's grandfather, Thomas Addis Emmet, and his famous brother, Robert Emmet, were noted leaders in the movements of the "United Irishmen" in 1798; and Robert, the younger, again in 1803, losing his young life in the heroic effort to obtain freedom for his distracted country. Thomas Addis Emmet, the patriot leader, was long imprisoned; but was finally liber-

ated, settled in New York city in 1804, where in the ensuing twenty-three years he rose to great eminence at the bar.

While Dr. Emmet has long been ranked among the ablest members of the medical profession in New York city, it is especially as an autograph collector that he stands pre-eminent. He began to form his first set of the signers about 1860, since which he has prosecuted the collection of American autographs with unusual ardor and remarkable success.

During the past twenty-five years, probably more autographs of the signers have passed through his hands than those of any one else in the country; and while he has been able to improve his own collections, he has supplied other collectors with more than a single specimen of all the signers, save perhaps those of Lynch and Gwinnett. He has thus proved himself a public benefactor—well worthy of the high honor Mr. Burns designed to ascribe, when referring to him as *"the Premier American Autographer."*

II.—Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia. In 1856, at the age of seventeen, an accidental search among an accumulation of family papers in his native city of Philadelphia, gave Mr. Gratz a taste for gathering autographs, which he has prosecuted for thirty years with rare discrimination and success. Mr. Burns, in the *Antiquarian,* August, 1870, stated that the collection of Mr. Gratz of the signers then lacked but two autographs, and that it was then regarded as "a fine series." That gap has long since been filled, and the whole set greatly improved. It has now fifty-three full autograph letters in quarto or folio size—the other three are Morton, a folio autograph document signed; Gwinnett, a very fine folio autograph document signed, and Lynch, a cut signature. It excels Dr. Emmet's best set—in the number of 1776 letters, having twenty-seven—one of which, that of Wilson, was written on the memorable 4th of July in that year; and a Hancock letter of July 5th, 1776, covering a copy of the declaration to one of the States.

All the specimens are choice both as regards matter and condition. It is largely illustrated with portraits and views, as yet kept loose in scrap-books for possible further improve-

ment. No pains or expense has been spared to improve its character.

Mr. Gratz needs only a Lynch to complete a second set, which is used in his series of the old Congress of 1774–1789. This group of the old Congress lacks but a few names of being complete. A duplicate of Lynch he once possessed, but spared it to a fellow collector to round out his set. This collection of the old Congress, includes, of course, the members of the Congress of 1774, and the signers of the confederation of 1778.

Mr. Gratz, besides a set of the signers of the constitution, has a complete series of autographs of the generals of the Revolution—all A. L. S., save two, one of which is an A. D. S., and the other a letter signed. He has also a general collection of autographs, which covers a very wide field, embracing fully 25,000 specimens, American and foreign, ancient and modern.

III.—Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia. Born in that city, March 2, 1812. Mr. Dreer was for many years laboriously engaged as an assayer and manufacturer of gold ware, retiring from active business in 1862. At twenty-two he broke down from over-work, and has ever since been in feeble health; yet since he commenced his autograph gatherings, about 1849, he has found pleasant employment in collecting, repairing and arranging his thousands of rare letters of both hemispheres, and illustrating his books and manuscripts, giving occupation to both body and mind, and as he believes, prolonging his days.

Mr. Dreer's set of the signers, like the collection of Mr. Gratz, numbers fifty-three full autograph letters. It has been selected and improved with great care and expense. The three specimens of the set not A. L. S., are Morton, A. D. S., Gwinnett, D. S., and Lynch, a cut signature. Next to the set of Mr. Gratz, Mr. Dreer's is the strongest extant in 1776 letters, having twenty-one specimens; no less than seven of which were written during the month of July of that year—Rutledge on the 1st, Clark on the immortal 4th, John Adams on the 5th, Hancock on the 9th, and 24th, Hewes on the 24th, and Thornton on the 27th. The Adams

letter came from Mr. Tefft's incomplete set, and is noticed in Dr. Gilman's paper on the Tefft autographs.

Such of these as needed it, were carefully repaired, and are kept in cases, without yet having determined their final grouping. Mr. Dreer has fifty-one letters and signed documents towards a second set, and forty towards a third.

His collection of the signers of the constitution, limited to those who actually signed the document, are all A. L. S., and is a very fine one.

Beside these, Mr. Dreer has no less than seventy original letters of Washington, from the earliest date to the time of his death, remarkably complete and interesting—undoubtedly the largest accumulation of Washington letters extant, outside of the Washington papers preserved by the government. He has also over forty letters of William Penn and family; a large number of Franklin; no less than thirty of Jefferson; and eleven of Edward Rutledge, written between 1792 and 1797. These Washington, Penn, and Franklin letters are exclusive of those utilized in various book illustrations.

In addition to his own varied acquisitions, Mr. Dreer obtained, some thirty years since, the rich collection of the late Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore—including his set of autographs of the signers, and his especially rich array of foreign autographs, comprising the most celebrated sovereigns of Europe, with all the most distinguished generals, naval commanders, statesmen, reformers, authors, artists, scientists, composers, musicians, inventors, astronomers, explorers, and travelers.

Among the set of musicians, are Handel, Hayden, Beethoven, Mozart, and Bach—all A. L. S.; astronomers, Galileo, Kepler, the elder Herschel, son and daughter, all A. L. S.; reformers, Luther, Melancthon, and De Beza, fine A. L. S.; also four of Cowper, four of Pope, four of Burns, two of Gray, and others of Sir Christopher Wren, Thomson, Gay, Byron, Shelley, Campbell, and Leigh Hunt's original of Abou Ben Adhem.

In 1857, Wm. Brotherhead wrote, and privately printed, an edition of twenty-five copies of a visit to Mr. Dreer's autograph collection. It is in small folio size; and three pages

of the fifteen descriptive of all the groupings, are devoted to the American portion, while twelve are given to the foreign. It is a very interesting exhibition of a noble gathering of autographs, sparkling with gems of many a noted man and woman of both continents.

Many patient years has Mr. Dreer spent in arranging, repairing and pressing his autographs, and adding fly-leaves for their protection. He devotes more hours to these interesting labors than he ever did to the acquisition of wealth. His avarice is limited to the accumulation of autographs, and grouping and improving them for noble and useful purposes. Though in feeble health, he declares that his love for collecting and repairing autographs, and illustrating books has added largely to his happiness as well as augmented his days.

IV.—Prof. Edward H. Leffingwell, son of William and Sally Maria Beers Leffingwell, was born in New Haven, April 15, 1803. He was graduated from Yale College in 1822, and two years later was graduated in medicine. In 1825, he went to Lima, South America, remaining there three years in the practice of his profession, when he removed to Lambayque, in Northern Peru, where he resided six years. Returning to the United States in 1834, he received the appointment of professor of chemistry and natural history in the University of Missouri; and, in 1836, he visited Buenos Ayres, and the next year returning to his native country, located a while at Brunswick, Maine, with a view of more thoroughly prosecuting the study of physical science, under the direction of Prof. Parker Cleveland, of Bowdoin College. Returning to St. Louis, he resumed his chair in the University; and after nearly nine years' connection with that institution, when, owing to ill-health, he resigned in 1852. He subsequently accepted the chair of chemistry and toxicology in the Medical College of Memphis, Tenn., but the condition of his health did not admit his long continuance there.

From 1855 to 1863, he resided in Boston; since which he has made his home in New Haven. He commenced his autograph collections upon his settlement in Boston. His full

set of the signers are all in folio size, save that of Middleton, which is a quarto. Mr. Burns pronounces it "a fine collection." In 1857, it lacked only the autograph of Paca, which was soon after supplied. It numbers fifty-one A. L. S.; of the remaining five, Hart and Morton are A. D. S.; Hopkins, L. S.; Gwinnett, D. S., and Lynch, a single signature. The set has several 1776 letters, and is unbound, preserved in cases, and copiously illustrated with portraits and engravings, biographical and historical cuttings.

He has a set of the signers of the constitution, and of the generals of the Revolution; presidents and vice-presidents of the United States, from Washington to Buchanan inclusive, with the heads of departments, judges of the supreme court, and ministers to foreign courts; a set of the Protestant Episcopal bishops, from Seabury to Green; a set of English sovereigns from Henry VII, with two exceptions; and a set of the English premiers from 1754 to Lord Beaconsfield, with a single exception.

V.—Dr. John S. H. Fogg, Boston, Mass. Dr. Fogg was born in Eliot, York County, Maine, May 21, 1826, and commenced picking up autographs about the time of his graduation from college, in 1846, making quite a collection of old commissions, etc. He recommenced gathering autographs in 1858, and for a year or two collected quite a good number.

In 1873, he was prostrated by paralysis, and has ever since been confined to his room, a constant sufferer. Recovering somewhat from this attack, he turned his attention, in 1875, to forming a set of the signers, of which he already had a few specimens. He consummated the collection in 1881—a wonderfully short period for such a difficult accomplishment. Many of these specimens he has since very materially improved.

Mr. Burns declares it "really a fine set," which its composition proves. It is made up of fifty A. L. S.; Heyward, Middleton, L. S.; Hart, Morton, and Gwinnett, D. S.; and Lynch, a cut signature. It presents an unusually strong array of letters written during the Revolutionary period, numbering forty-two; of which eighteen were written in independence year, 1776—three in July, Witherspoon's the

3d, Clark's the 9th, and Hopkinson's the 23d. Such letters as needed it, have been thoroughly repaired; all are mounted in a fly in a wrapper, and the illustrations are mounted in the same wrapper. These illustrations consist of engravings or etchings of all the signers save Morton; of some there are several different likenesses, together with Brotherhead's facsimiles and views. As yet they are unbound, awaiting still further possible improvement.

Dr. Fogg lacks but three of a complete set of the Albany Congress of 1754; and all but four of the stamp-act Congress of 1765. He has also completed a second collection of the signers of the declaration of independence, lacking only Lynch, which form a part of the old Congress, 1774–1789; which lacks some thirty of the total number of about three hundred and eighty.

Besides his set of the signers of the constitution, he has yet other groups of autographs of his notable countrymen: The colonial and State governors of Massachusetts; the Annapolis convention of 1786; the Hartford convention; the generals of the Revolution, lacking only four: Washington's aids, nearly the Revolution, lacking only four: Washington's aides, nearly complete; presidents and vice-presidents of the United States; nearly all of the three hundred cabinet officers.

"Here I am," writes Dr. Fogg, "sitting in my chair, utterly helpless, and often distracted with pain, as I have been for more than thirteen years. I don't know how I could make life tolerable were it not for the pleasure these autographs afford me. I take comfort in collecting, arranging and repairing them, associated with my companion, whose tastes in these directions are in harmony with mine; for we work together in repairing old letters, matching the paper used, imitating water marks, texture, color, and other particulars—mounting them to a uniform size, and inlaying small portraits to the same dimension. Mrs. Fogg in all these labors, is equally enthusiastic with me. Thus, you see, I have some blessings in my cup of afflictions, and they are of a magnitude sufficient to reconcile me to my lot, if anything could do it. I have now some four or five thousand or more autographs altogether."

VI.—State Historical Society, Madison, Wis. This collection has been some twenty-five years in accumulating—originating, in 1856, in a donation of autographs of Samuel Adams, Floyd, Lewis, Robert Morris, McKean, R. H. Lee, Jefferson, as well as R. R. Livingston, and Charles Thomson, from the late Hon. Henry S. Randall. It was some years thereafter before the idea of completing a full set was resolved on, and the full quota was made up in 1881, with subsequent improvements. While the collection is not strong in historical documents of the Revolution, it takes high rank in embracing so many full autograph letters—fifty A. L. S.; Hart, A. D. S.; Morton, Heyward, Middleton, and Gwinnett, D. S.; and Lynch, an inlaid cut signature. It is illustrated with one or more engravings or etchings of all the signers save Morton, with Brotherhead's views and facsimiles, and other appropriate matter.

The gift of the Hon. H. S. Randall of one hundred American autographs to the Society in 1856, laid the foundation of other series beside that of the signers of the declaration of independence. We have now a full set of the thirty-nine signers of the constitution, including their secretary, William Jackson, all A. L. S., with appropriate illustrations; a nearly complete set of the presidents of the old Congress, and presidents and vice-presidents of the United States, together with a portion of the generals of the Revolution, and the governors of Wisconsin. These constitute the autograph collections proper of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

VII.—Mrs. David J. Cohen, Baltimore. This collection was formed by the late Dr. Joshua I. Cohen, of that city—commenced in 1836, and completed in 1850. A second set was lacking only two names at the close of 1870. Dr. Cohen passing away, his autographs came into the possession of his sister-in-law, the present owner. The full collection of the signers consist of forty-nine A. L. S., with Thornton, Livingston, Morton, Wythe, Middleton and Gwinnett, D. S., and Lynch, as usual, a signature only. Among the rarities may be mentioned the full letters of Sherman, Stockton,

Hart, and Heyward. The set is unbound, preserved in cases, without illustrations.

VIII.—Dr. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston, whose second set, used in his group of the old Congress, is now complete; of which forty-eight are A. L. S.; Taylor and Read, A. D. S.; Morton and Middleton, L. S.; Hart and Heyward, D. S.; Gwinnett, A. D., and Lynch, a cut signature. Of the full letters, twenty-six were written in 1776, and the Morton L. S. also; and Wythe in 1778. Fully illustrated.

IX.—Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. Some two years before the death of the Rev. Dr. Sprague, Dr. Emmet offered him $50 each for the choice of certain specimens of his best set of the signers, or $25 each for the whole. Dr. Sprague replied, that he had no idea that they could be worth any such sum; but he could not consent to part with them, as nearly all of them had been gifts from friends, and the love of collecting, rather than dispersing, was still on him.

After thinking the matter over, he stated to Dr. Emmet, that as he had done so much more than any one else to perpetuate the memory of the signers, his set should very properly be made the best—Dr. Sprague adding, that he ought not to be selfish, and kindly offered to exchange such specimens in his collection as would improve Dr. Emmet's, but would not consent to sell them. This resulted in an exchange—Dr. Emmet taking the peerless Lynch autograph letter, a Heyward, a Middleton, and two others, promising to square the account before Christmas.

Dr. Sprague furnished fourteen autographs of the signers, not the most valuable, and Dr. Emmet supplied a Lynch cut signature, and forty-one others, thus making a full set—some of these forty-two Dr. Emmet already possessed, while others he purchased for this special purpose. This collection was arranged with the fourth edition of Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers*, 1865, with portraits, views, and documents, extending the whole to three volumes, bound in half red levant morocco. Dr. Emmet expended for the autographs he especially purchased for the set, the inlaying,

binding, etc., only three dollars short of $700, which he regarded as the cost to him of the famous Lynch letter.

This is the collection which passed into the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, at a cost, it is understood, of two thousand dollars.

It is pronounced by Mr. Burns, and corroborated by others who have seen it, as "a good set." Among them is a very fine letter of Hart; and six of the letters, those of Carroll, Read, Stone, Harrison, Penn, and Hall, are addressed to Washington. Forty-eight are A. L. S., while Livingston and Middleton are A. D. S.; Hall, L. S.; Morton, Taylor, and Gwinnett, D. S., and Heyward and Lynch are signatures only. That of Wolcott is the only one mentioned as written in 1776.

As the society had perhaps half of the autographs of the signers before this purchase, they expect, by the aid of these duplicates, at some future day, to improve the collection. The society has no complete set of the signers of the constitution.

X.—Robert Coulton Davis, Philadelphia. On August 3, 1823, Mr. Davis was born in that city, and has long been engaged in business there. The Harrison campaign of 1840, and Clay campaign of 1844, inspired his love for autographs. Prior to 1845, he had but few, and those were pasted promiscuously in a scrap book. He obtained from Mr. Clay, in 1845, an autograph letter, when he began in earnest to gather those of other celebrities. Sometime thereafter he commenced the formation of his set of the signers, which he completed about 1868; and has ever since been improving and perfecting the specimens to folio size, as opportunities offered, so that all, save about half a dozen, are of that size. Mr. Burns declares it "a good set;" it is in good condition, and valuable for its stores of history.

It numbers forty-seven A. L. S.; the remaining nine are as follows: Sherman, Hart, Morton, and Heyward, A. D. S.; Livingston and Hooper, L. S.; Middleton and Gwinnett, D. S.; and Lynch a cut signature, originally from Mr. Tefft. They are not inlaid, nor yet bound; but are well illustrated with views and portraits, and other appropriate matter to

add interest to such a collection. Among the rarities is one of the printed broadsides of the declaration as issued at the time of its promulgation. Of the full letters, eighteen were written in 1776, one L. S. with two documents as well; and thirty-one others were written between the commencement and conclusion of the war.

In addition to his collection of the signers of the constitution, his set of the old Congress is well advanced, involving a second set of the declaration signers, of which he has fifty-one. He has a set of the signers of the confederation, 1778; nearly complete; nearly all the generals of the Revolution; presidents and their cabinets complete to Grant; chief and associate justices, wanting but a single name; while a set of the presidents and their wives, and ladies of the White House, is in progress, including a beautiful letter of Rachel Jackson. Mr. Davis has also a fine American numismatic collection.

XI.—Charles C. Jones Jr., LL. D., Augusta, Georgia. It is very fitting that Col. Jones should have made up a set of the signers. Descending from a prominent Revolutionary family of his state, he was born at Savannah, October 28, 1831. With a good education, he is well equipped for his profession, and for an antiquary and historian—taking the very front rank, in these particulars, of his fellow-citizens of Georgia, and of the Southern States. Aside from his numerous historical, antiquarian, and military addresses and brochures, in pamphlet form, his more substantial works, *Historical Sketch of Chatham Artillery*, 1867; *Historical Sketch of To-mo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws*, 1868; *Antiquities of the Southern Tribes*, 1873; *Siege of Savannah*, 1874; *Dead Towns of Georgia*, 1878; *History of Georgia*, in 2 vols., 1883, with two more in preparation, and *Sketch of Maj. John Habersham*, 1886, have deservedly given him a high reputation.

In 1866, he commenced collecting his first set of the signers, completing it in 1880, though improvements have been subsequently made. This collection consists of forty-seven full letters, with Stockton, Read, and Gwinnett, A. D. S.—the Gwinnett a remarkably fine specimen;—Livingston and

Penn, L. S.; Morton Heyward, and Middleton, D. S., and Lynch the usual cut signature. Thornton, Whipple, Hewes, and Penn are 1776 letters; while those of Hancock, Ellery, Wolcott, Lewis, Taylor, Ross, Rodney, Paca, Stone, Wythe, Harrison, Nelson, Hooper, and Walton, fourteen in number, were written during the Revolutionary period. This series is inlaid on Whatman paper, and illustrated with the best engraved portraits extant, and views of residences, etc., and is neatly bound.

Col. Jones has a collection of the signers of the constitution, a full set of the presidents and vice-presidents of the United States, nearly all A. L. S., inlaid, illustrated, and bound.

A complete set of the chief justices and associate justices of the supreme court, and attorneys general of the United States, is also inlaid, illustrated and bound.

A complete set of the colonial and the state governors of Georgia, inlaid, illustrated and bound.

A complete set of the signers of the Confederate constitution, all A. L. S., inlaid, illustrated and bound.

His series of members of the Continental Congress is in an advanced condition, as is also his series of Confederate autographs; he has also over two hundred printed books, privately illustrated with maps, views, autographs, portraits, all inlaid and handsomely bound, while his extensive archæological collection embraces nearly 20,000 objects.

XII.—Col. Theodorus Bailey Myers, New York, was born in that city, December 13, 1821, and began to value and collect historical documents when he came of age. His is "an excellent set" of the signers, as asserted by Mr. Burns. In the *Historical Magazine,* for November, 1868, all the letters and documents of the collection are given *in extenso.* Col. Myers there says of the collection: "It was made without reference to size; but the object has been, as far as possible, to obtain papers of historical interest. Many specimens have been exchanged or rejected; and many still remain, which, if opportunity offers, will be hereafter improved. All of them have been repaired without mutilation,

and inlaid by Trent in drawing-paper, of large folio size; and illustrated with portraits, views, caricatures, official and other documents, arms of states, colonial money and newspapers, etc., illustrative of the period—all similarly inlaid or mounted, and on separate sheets, to the number, at this time, of several hundred; the whole to constitute three folio volumes, for the Northern, Middle, and Southern States, respectively."

Since the above was written, Col. Myers has largely increased his illustrations, and has thoughts of changing his final grouping for binding. The collection is very strong in historical documents; inlaid similarly to Dr. Emmet's, and is arranged with Brotherhead's *Book of the Signers*, in royal folio size. It has one great rarity among its illustrations, of which but one other is in private hands, that of Dr. Emmet—an original printed copy of the declaration, with the signs-manual of the secretary and president of Congress, perhaps one of those sent to each of the thirteen states, by order of that body, January 18, 1777: "It was for many years," says Col. Myers, "the property of a gentleman in the South, from whom the collector procured it, like the other specimens, without 'making a raid,' or incurring an obligation which he did not attempt to acquit."

Col. Bailey's set of the signers numbers forty-four A. L. S., including the great rarity of a full John Morton letter; with Hart, Taylor, Middleton, and Gwinnett, A. D. S.; Hopkins and Livingston, L. S.; Thornton, Hancock, Read, Heyward, Lynch, and Hall, D. S. The Lynch document is a land contract, dated in March, 1779, but one other of the kind is known to be extant. Of the forty-four full letters, twenty-six were written during the Revolutionary period; while eight of them bear date in 1776. Bartlett, Whipple, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Lewis Morris, Wilson, and Chase. Judge Wilson's was written on the 4th of July in that year, recommending some company officers.

XIII.—Dr. Emmet's second set. This collection consists of forty-one A. L. S.; Bartlett, Thornton, Hancock, Paine, Hopkins, Clark, Hart, Stockton, Morton, Taylor, Wythe, and Hall, A. D. S.; Middleton, L. S.; Gwinnett, D. S.; and Lynch,

cut signature. The autograph document of Hancock, a very important historical one, bears date July 11, 1776; while the letter of Hewes is dated April 30th, in that year, and eighteen other full letters were written during the Revolutionary period. This set of the signers forms a part of Dr. Emmet's fine series of members of the old Congress, 1774–1789.

XIV.—Joseph W. Drexel, of New York. This is the second set formed by Mr. Tefft, and was purchased, in 1865, by Almond W. Griswold, of New York, from Mr. Tefft's widow, and subsequently passed into Mr. Drexel's possession. It lacked Paine, Smith, and Stone of completion, which Mr. Drexel has since supplied, as well as otherwise improved the collection. Forty are A. L. S.; while Hart, Harrison, Wythe, and Middleton are A. D. S.; Hancock and Jefferson, L. S.; Thornton, Paine, Hopkins, Morton, Taylor, Ross, Stone, Heyward, and Walton, D. S., and Lynch, a cut signature. The gem of the collection is a full letter of Gwinnett, written in 1777, the only one known to be extant—purchased at the Mickley sale at a cost of $110. Five are 1776 letters—Wolcott, Livingston, Clark, R. Morris, and Wilson, the latter dated June 26th, and relates to a debate in Congress on independence. The collection is yet unbound, and is illustrated with engravings and etchings of the signers, views, etc., with a sketch each of printed biographies.

Mr. Drexel has also a set of the signers of the constitution, and a collection of over thirty Washington letters, including a plan of his Mount Vernon estate drawn by himself.

XV.—Edward E. Sprague, of New York. This set of the signers was one of the three made by his father, Rev. Dr. Sprague, and was completed, as Hon. Mellen Chamberlain believes, as early as 1848. It consists of forty A. L. S.; while Hart, Smith, Taylor, Stone, Middleton, and Walton are A. D. S.; Stephen Hopkins, L. S.; and Samuel Adams, Livingston, Morton, Paca, F. L. Lee, Wythe, Heyward, Lynch and Gwinnett are D. S., The Lynch signature is attached to a conveyance of land in 1779, in Charleston—a counterpart to Mr. Myer's Lynch deed of March in that

year. There are no 1776 letters in the collection; but fourteen were written during the Revolutionary period, while three of them, Lewis, Witherspoon, and Chase, were addressed to Washington. The set is not bound, nor illustrated.

XVI.—State Library, Albany, N. Y. This was the first and only complete set formed by Mr. Tefft; and after its purchase at $625, by Mr. Griswold from Mr. Tefft's widow, in 1865, it was sold to the State of New York, with only twenty-seven full letters, for the moderate sum of $800. Since it went into the possession of the State, a number of improvements have been made, by the care and good judgment of the librarian, Dr. Homes, in the substitution of better specimens, including eleven full letters. It now numbers thirty-eight A. L. S.; while Samuel Adams, Paine, Sherman, Hart, Stockton, McKean, Paca, Gwinnett, and Hall, are A. D. S.: Lewis and Livingston, L. S.; Thornton, Hopkins, Lewis Morris, Morton, Stone, and Middleton, D. S., and Lynch, a cut signature. Of the full letters, Clark and Smith were written in 1776, and fifteen others during the Revolutionary period. The rarities of the collection are the full letter of Heyward, and the fine A. D. S., of Gwinnett. The set is nicely bound in dark Turkey morocco, in quarto size, with thirty-four engraved likenesses, and engravings of the declaration; and in the volume are included letters or documents of R. R. Livingston, John Dickinson, and Thomas Willing, members of the Congress of 1776, but not signers, and of Charles Thomson, the secretary, together with one of Washington.

XVII.—Mrs. Wm. D. Ely, Providence, R. I. This collection was made by Mrs. Eliza H. Allen, a daughter of Welcome Arnold, of Providence, a descendant of the first Governor Green, of the colonial days of Rhode Island. She was born in Providence, October 5, 1796; and was united in marriage to Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL. D., of that city. Mrs. Allen inherited from childhood many old ancestral papers, which inspired an early love for autographs. She commenced her set of the signers about 1825, and by indefatigable industry she succeeded in securing her group of auto-

graphs, without the necessity of purchasing many of them, as at that early day they had not, to any extent, become a marketable commodity. She substantially completed her collections before 1850—her full set of the signers somewhat earlier. She has the honor of having been the only lady who has succeeded in forming a complete collection of the signers—Mrs. Wm. Hathaway, of New Bedford, Mass., having gathered a partial set.

It consists of thirty-seven A. L. S.; with Thornton, Floyd, Lewis, Stockton, Witherspoon, Morton, Taylor, Smith, McKean, Chase, Wythe, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Walton, A. D. S.; Livingston and Clymer, L. S.; and signatures only of Hart, to a continental bill, F. L. Lee, and Lynch. Three of the full letters bear date in 1776—Wolcott, February 10th, Hancock, July 6th, and Gerry, October 4th, while eleven others were written during the Revolutionary War. They are bound in a volume with thirty-five engraved likenesses. The Hancock and Heyward letters, and A. D. S. of Gwinnett form the special features of interest in the collection. Mrs. Allen also partially formed a second set of the signers; and passing away August 30, 1873, her autograph collections were inherited by her daughter, Mrs. Ely.

XVIII.—Hon. T. Stamford Raffles, Liverpool, England. This collection was made by his father, the late Rev. Thomas Raffles, D. D., LL. D., of that city, who was a much older man than any of our American collectors, having been born in London, May 17, 1778. He used to say, that the gift of a letter of the celebrated traveler, Mungo Park, first "inoculated" him with a passion for autographs. This was sometime prior to 1814, when we find him securing valuable additions to his collection. Making journeys in Great Britain and on the continent, he never returned without adding to his autograph accumulations. He received his first visit in 1828, from Rev. Dr. W. B. Sprague, with whom he had previously been in correspondence; and for many years they rendered each other much mutual aid in the exchange of autographs. While it is not now known, yet it is quite likely that Dr. Sprague inspired in Dr. Raffles the idea of making

a collection of the signers. After many patient years of effort, Dr. Raffles completed his set in 1837.

This collection of the signers numbers thirty A. L. S.; Hart and Paca, A. D. S.; John Adams, Hopkins, Lewis, McKean, Hooper, and Walton, L. S.; Thornton, Hancock, Huntington, Livingston, Lewis Morris, Clymer, Morton, Ross, Smith, Taylor, Wilson, Jefferson, F. L. Lee, Wythe, Heyward, and Gwinnett, D. S.; with Hewes and Lynch, signatures. Among the rarities of the collection are the full letters of Samuel Adams, Sherman, Stockton, and Middleton, with a fine historical document of Hancock to Washington, October 11, 1776, directing him "by every art, and at whatever expense, to obstruct effectually the navigation of the North River, between Fort Washington and Mount Constitution." The special defects of the collection are, that while the Morton is a finely written holograph letter, June 20, 1765, addressed to Sir Wm. Johnson, and certified as such by Dr. Sprague, it is not signed; and the signature of George Taylor is imperfect, the Christian name having been torn off. Besides the Hancock document, the Stockton letter was written in 1776.

A writer, nearly thirty years ago, said of this collection: "Dr. Raffles has his set bound in a beautiful volume, and values it almost as he would the famous Kohinoor. A wealthy Boston merchant once introduced himself to him in the street, and requested the privilege of seeing his collection. He then told the doctor that he wished to make a present to his native city, and had seen nothing which so pleased him for that purpose as this set of autographs, and asked if there was any sum which would induce him to part with it? The Liverpool doctor, however, who is wealthy, and besides considers a first-rate autograph a luxury greater than a miser's gold heap, was not to be tempted."

Dr. Raffles wrote many works of merit, and prepared a lecture on his favorite autograph hobby. He purchased comparatively few of his large manuscript collections; he arranged and illustrated them, accumulating as many as

forty folio volumes, and fully as many more quartos, besides his seven volumes of American celebrities. He died in Liverpool, August 18, 1863, leaving his noble autograph collections to his worthy son, Judge T. Stamford Raffles, of that city.

XIX.—Col. C. C. Jones' second set consists of thirty-one A. L. S.; Bartlett, Thornton, Hopkins, Sherman, Williams, Floyd, Stockton, Clark, Taylor, Ross, Read, Wythe, twelve A. D. S.; Livingston and R. H. Lee, L. S.; Paine, L. Morris, Hart, Morton, Stone, Penn, Heyward, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Hall, ten, D. S.; and Lynch, signature. This set is designed for his son; and is also inlaid on Whatman paper, and illustrated with the best engraved portraits extant, and views of residences, etc. Of the letters, six were written during the Revolutionary period—Whipple in 1775, Smith in 1776, Hewes in 1777, Nelson in 1781, Harrison in 1782, and Paca in 1783.

XX.—Dr. Emmet's third set. Though the number of full letters is not so large as some other collections, yet they present a valuable historical series. They number twenty-eight A. L. S.; Bartlett, Whipple, Hancock, Paine, Sherman, Williams, Floyd, Lewis, Livingston, Lewis Morris, Clark, Stockton, Witherspoon, Clymer, Morton, Rush, Taylor, Wilson, McKean, Read, Wythe, Hooper, Heyward, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Hall, A. D. S.; Hart, D. S.; and Lynch cut signature. Fifteen of the full letters were written during the Revolutionary period; that of Ross bears date July 2, 1776, while Ellery, R. Morris, Rodney, R. H. Lee and Hewes were written during the declaration year. This set is used to illustrate Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers,* eight volumes, uncut, with just enough rare prints and engraved likenesses to render the volumes of convenient size.

XXI.—John M. Hale, attorney at law, Philipsburg, Pa., has recently completed his set of the signers. He was born in Lewistown, Pa., February 18, 1839, and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1862. He commenced the collection of autographs in 1853, first finding rare letters and documents among some old papers he had occasion to examine; and commenced by exchanging duplicates, and

since has purchased many autographs from various auctions and other sources, securing his Lynch and Gwinnett at the recent Cist sale.

His collection of the signers consists of twenty-five A. L. S.; while Bartlett, Thornton, Whipple, Hancock, Paine, Sherman, Williams, Wolcott, Lewis Morris, Clark, Hopkinson, Stockton, Clymer, Morton, Ross, Wythe, Middleton, and Rutledge are A. D. S.; S. Adams, Hopkins and Livingston, L. S.; Smith, Taylor, Read, Gwinnett, Hall, and Walton, D. S.; Hart, Penn, Heyward, and Lynch, signatures. Twelve are Revolutionary letters—Stone and Hewes, 1776; R. H. Lee, 1777; Lewis, 1778; Witherspoon, 1779; John Adams and Harrison, 1780; McKean and Nelson, 1781; Rodney, 1782; and Paca and Braxton, 1783.

Mr. Hale has nearly completed several other series—presidents of the continental Congress, and presidents of the United States; signers of the confederation, and of many other members of the Continental Congress; chief justices and associates of the supreme court; officers of the Revolutionary War; Episcopal bishops of the United States; governors of Pennsylvania; also a set of the signers of the constitution, save John Rutledge, only.

XXII.—Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, Boston. Though not the oldest in years, Mr. Chamberlain has been the longest engaged in making autograph collections of any of his surviving fellow collectors of sets of the signers. He was born in Pembroke, N. H., June 4th, 1821; graduated at Dartmouth in 1844, and from the Dane Law School in 1848; and, in 1855, had conferred on him by Dartmouth the degree of LL. D. He began to collect autographs as early as 1836.

His set of the signers is unique in its character and arrangement. It is made up of the genuine signatures, pasted on a fine copy of the declaration in facsimile of full size, on parchment colored paper. The document was glazed and framed. It thus represents the great declaration, and is infinitely more pleasant to look at than the misused and time-worn original at Washington. This set was completed about 1865.

His signers of the constitution, completed about 1860; of

the confederation; also an address of the Continental Congress to the king of Great Britain in 1774, are all represented in the same way. These Mr. Chamberlain calls "Tablets;" and, it must be confessed, that they present a very attractive appearance.

Mr. Chamberlain's general collection, American and European, will, when bound with portraits and other illustrations and letterpress, made some two hundred volumes. He has made a specialty of illustrating books, such as Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature,* which has grown to about sixty volumes, ready for binding.

Whether expressed or otherwise, the autograph of Charles Thomson, the faithful secretary of Congress, may always be regarded as finding an appropriate place in every collection of the signers of the declaration of independence.

Incomplete Sets of the Signers

Concise notices will now be given of the incomplete collections extant of the signers, so far as we have been able to obtain any knowledge of them—giving their strength so far as known. These representations tend to show the scarcity of certain autographs, and the difficulty—nay, almost impossibility—of securing them.

1. Henry A. Willard, Washington, D. C. This set of the signers numbers fifty-two, and its strength consists in the fact that it possesses both of the rare signatures of Lynch and Gwinnett, thus rendering it comparatively easy to complete it. There are in the collection twenty-three A. L. S.; Clymer, Stone, and Middleton, A. D. S.; S. Adams, L. S.; Paine, Bartlett, Thornton, Whipple, Hopkins, Williams, Lewis, Hart, Hopkinson, Clark, Wilson, Rodney, McKean, Harrison, and Smith, D. S.; Sherman, Morton, Wythe, Hewes, Heyward, Lynch, and Gwinnett signatures; R. Morris, Taylor and Jefferson are in the collection, but their character is not specified; while the set lacks only Lewis Morris, Hooper, Penn, and Hall.

As Mr. Willard's collection possesses the rare Lynch and Gwinnett signatures, with many other rarities, no effort should be wanting to secure its early completion.

2. Simon Gratz's second set, consists of fifty-five signers—of which fifty-one are A. L. S.; Hopkins and Gwinnett, L. S.; Morton and Middleton, D. S., lacking Lynch only.

3. Col. Frank M. Etting, Concordville, Pa., has fifty-five signers in his collection, wanting only Lynch; fifty are A. L. S.; Hart and Morton, A. D. S.; Hopkins, Smith, and Gwinnett, D. S. Once Mr. Tefft offered Col. Etting a Lynch signature, which he declined, saying he had never admitted such into his collection. Col. Etting has, besides his two collections of the signers of the constitution, almost a complete set of the generals of the Revolution.

4. D. McN. Stauffer, of New York, having fifty-five, lacks only Lynch of a full set; of which forty-three are A. L. S., the rarity of a full Morton letter among them; Thornton, Wolcott, Clark, Read and Heyward, A. D. S.; Hopkins, Livingston, Hooper and Middleton, L. S.; Lewis Morris, Hart and Gwinnett, D. S.; finely illustrated.

5. Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia, has fifty-four signers, lacking Lynch and Gwinnett; forty-three are A. L. S.; Williams, Hart, Stockton, Morton, Read and Wythe are A. D. S.; Hopkins, Livingston and Hall, L. S.; Heyward and Middleton, D. S.; fully illustrated.

Mr. Roberts, besides a full set of the signers of the constitution, has eighty-one of the eighty-six generals of the Revolution, and other series in a well advanced state.

6. Hiram Hitchcock, of New York, has fifty-four signatures, needing Lynch and Gwinnett to complete the set; of which John Adams, Gerry, Paine, Ellery, Huntington, Lewis, Witherspoon, Franklin, R. Morris, Rush, Wilson, Rodney, Carroll, Chase, Braxton, Jefferson, one of the Lees, Nelson, Hooper and Walton, twenty in number, are A. L. S.; while the others are A. D. S., or D. S.

7. Dr. T. A. Emmet, of New York. His fourth collection of the signers yet lacks Lynch and Gwinnett. It must necessarily be made up of less desirable specimens than those comprising his three full sets; it is, however, above the average, and it is a matter of no small marvel that he should have so nearly completed a fourth collection in any form.

8. The second set of Mrs. D. J. Cohen, of Baltimore, gathered by the late Dr. Cohen, lacked only two of completion in 1870—apparently Lynch and Gwinnett; and, it is believed, has not received any addition or improvement since that time.

9. Charles F. Gunther, of Chicago, has fifty-four of the fifty-six signers, lacking Lynch and Gwinnett. Of their strength and condition, we have no information.

10. James H. Edgerly, of Great Falls, N. H., needs only Lynch and Gwinnett to complete his set. We only learn that it is not strong in full autograph letters.

11. The second collection of Prof. E. H. Leffingwell, of New Haven, has fifty-two signers; it lacks Taylor, Lynch, Middleton and Gwinnett of completion. Of the fifty-two autographs of the signers, forty-six are A. L. S.; with Bartlett, Hopkins and Heyward, L. S.; Hart and Livingston, D. S., and Morton, a signature to a continental bill. Unbound, and copiously illustrated.

12. The second set of Mr. R. C. Davis, of Philadelphia, numbers fifty-one; of which thirty-five are A. L. S.; Walton, A. D. S.; S. Adams, Hopkins, Livingston, Harrison, Nelson, Heyward, Middleton and Rutledge, L. S.; Thornton, Whipple, Paine, Williams, Hart, Morton, and Walton, D. S.; and lacking L. Morris, Hooper, Penn, Lynch, and Gwinnett. Fully illustrated.

13. Howard K. Sanderson, of Lynn, Mass., probably the youngest collector of a set of the signers, is only twenty-two years of age and commenced his collection in 1884. His set numbers fifty-one; of which twenty-four are A. L. S., and twelve of them of the Revolutionary period, Chase and Penn being 1776 letters; Bartlett, Thornton, Sherman, Williams, Wolcott, Floyd, Stockton, Read, Hooper and Rutledge, A. D. S.; Livingston, L. Morris, Lewis, Smith, Taylor, Harrison, and Heyward, L. S.; Hancock, S. Adams, Hopkins, Hart, Hopkinson, Witherspoon, Franklin, Morton, Wythe, and Walton, D. S.; lacking, F. L. Lee, Middleton, Lynch, Gwinnett and Hall.

Mr. Sanderson has also several series, well advanced, of the

presidents, governors of Massachusetts, and of the kings and queens of England.

14. Col. Willard T. Block, recently of Des Moines, now of Pittsburgh, commenced autograph collecting when a boy of twelve, and prosecuted it diligently for ten years; but has latterly ceased making any special efforts to increase his collections. His set of the signers numbers fifty-one, of which twenty-two are A. L. S.—J. Adams, Gerry, Ellery, Huntington, Floyd, Lewis, Hopkinson, Stockton, Clymer, Franklin, R. Morris, Rush, Wilson, Carroll, Chase, Paca, Jefferson, F. L. Lee, R. H. Lee, Nelson, Hewes, and Walton; twenty-six A. D. S. and D. S., and three signatures—Hart and Morton to colonial currency, and Livingston a signature only. Smith, Hooper, Lynch, Gwinnett, and Hall are lacking. Col. Block has also quite a collection of American autographs, including a complete set of the presidents of the old Congress, save Henry Middleton; and all the presidents of the United States.

15. Rev. Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs, of Lancaster, Pa., has fifty of the signers, made up, as a rule, of letters or fine A. D. S., and not including any cut signatures; the lacking autographs are Penn, Heyward, Lynch, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Hall.

Dr. Dubbs has also a nearly complete set of the signers of the constitution; and other series, yet incomplete, of the generals of the Revolution, presidents, vice-presidents, and cabinet members; judges of the supreme court; naval officers, American authors, and American divines, including more than a hundred Episcopal bishops; together with series of Pennsylvania members of the Continental Congress and since, governors, senators, and attorney-generals. Dr. Dubbs commenced making his collections in 1860, and has been very successful; giving, however, but little attention to them of late years.

16. George M. Conarroe, attorney-at-law, Philadelphia, commenced his collections about 1850, and gathered the most of them during the ensuing ten years. His set of the signers numbers forty-eight, of which thirty-three are A. L. S.; Paine, Witherspoon, Morton, Ross, Smith, Taylor,

and McKean, A. D. S.; Harrison, L. S.; J. Adams, a note signed with initials; Bartlett, Thornton, Hopkins, Stone, Middleton, and Gwinnett, D. S.; lacking Wythe, Hewes, Hooper, Penn, Heyward, Lynch, Gwinnett, and Hall.

Mr. Conarroe has also made incomplete series of generals of the Revolution, presidents and cabinet members; together with interesting collections of literary, scientific, and legal autograph letters and documents.

17. The second set of signers of Mr. F. J. Dreer, of Philadelphia, numbers forty-seven; of which forty-three are A. L. S.; Morton, A. D. S.; Hopkins and Livingston, L. S., and Heyward, D. S.; lacking Thornton, Paine, Stockton, Ross, Stone, Penn, Lynch, Middleton, and Gwinnett. Copiously illustrated.

18. The second collection of Mrs. W. D. Ely, of Providence, R. I., made by her mother, the late Mrs. Eliza H. Allen, has forty-six of the signers, lacking Whipple, Floyd, L. Morris, Smith, Read, R. H. Lee, Nelson, Middleton, Lynch, and Gwinnett.

19. Charles P. Greenough, Boston, has some forty-six of the signers, lacking ten—utilized in a series of the members of the old Congress, of which he has a large majority. He has nearly a complete set of the signers of the constitution. For his general collection, he selected 1,500 letters from the John Hancock papers, and 2,000 from Daniel Webster's correspondence.

20. Nathaniel Paine, Worcester, Mass., has forty-five of the signers in his collection, of which eighteen are A. L. S.; Whipple, Sherman, Wolcott, McKean, Paca, Wythe, and Rutledge, A. D. S.; S. Adams, Hancock, Paine, Ellery, Williams, Floyd, Livingston, L. Morris, Hopkinson, Witherspoon, Morton, Ross, Taylor, Wilson, Chase, and Walton, D. S.; Hart, Stockton, Harrison, and Heyward, signatures; lacking Hopkins, Clark, Read, Stone, Hewes, Hooper, Penn, Lynch, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Hall.

Mr. Paine's collection of the signers is bound up in two volumes, in half red crushed levant morocco, with illuminated titles especially prepared for them. The first volume contains an historical monograph, handsomely printed, with

fourteen engravings of the signers mentioned in that collection; a brief history of the thirteen original States, and lives of the signers properly illustrated; two finely printed copies of the declaration, with an early broadside of that document; then Brotherhead's facsimiles from his *Book of the Signers,* with portraits, and before each facsimile is placed the original autograph, or the space left vacant for the deficiency. This volume embraces the New England States and New York, with an illuminated coat-of-arms of each of those states. The second volume embraces the remaining states with autographs and illustrations similarly arranged, together with facsimiles of the original declaration and signatures, and chronological tables of the principal events of the country from 1776 to 1876.

21. The second set of Mr. D. McN. Stauffer, of New York, numbers forty-one, which goes towards forming a collection of the members of the old Congress—some three hundred and eighty in all—of which he lacks but twenty-three.

22. Mr. F. J. Dreer's third set numbers forty, of which thirty-five are A. L. S.; S. Adams, Livingston, Smith and Paca, L. S., and Morton, D. S.; while sixteen are lacking, viz.: Thornton, Paine, Hopkins, Williams, Hart, Stockton, Ross, Stone, Hewes, Hooper, Penn, Heyward, Lynch, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Hall.

23. The late John Carter Brown, of Providence, purchased the set of the signers, quite incomplete, made by the late Hon. Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn. Particulars of its strength and character are not now attainable.

24. Gordon L. Ford, of Brooklyn, has about forty of the signers. It was commenced in 1839—at which time Mr. Ford states, that he knew of but four other collectors in this country, namely: Dr. Sprague, Mr. Tefft, Mr. Gilmor and Mr. Cist. His aim was not so much to form any complete series, as to secure letters of historic interest and value. Of his incomplete set of the signers, about three-fourths are full letters, alphabetically arranged, illustrated with portraits, views, and short sketches, but not bound. His en-

tire autograph collection is very large, reaching, probably one hundred thousand letters and documents.

25. Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, of Boston, besides his set of mounted signatures of the signers, has some thirty letters and documents towards a second collection, of which we have no classification.

26. The Pennsylvania Historical Society has about one-half of the signers in separate letter form, which they design utilizing, at some future time, in improving their set, which came from the collections of the late Dr. Sprague.

27. Miss Mary D. Hathaway, of New Bedford, Mass., inherited from her mother, Mrs. William Hathaway, several years since, an incomplete collection of the signers; of its composition we have no information.

28. Charles S. Ogden, of Philadelphia, is mentioned as an autograph collector as early as 1853. Some twenty years or more ago, writes R. C. Davis, Mr. Ogden had the nucleus of a nice collection of the signers, which was given to his son, Henry Corbit Ogden, of New York. We have no knowledge of its strength or classification.

29. Henry C. Van Schaack, of Manlius, N. Y., has arranged in three volumes, a fine collection of autographs, among which he enumerates eighteen of the signers.

30. Col. F. M. Etting, of Philadelphia, in addition to his regular set of the signers, lacking only Lynch, has nearly a full collection of the signatures of the signers, mounted and framed, with likenesses—of their exact number, and deficiencies, we are without information.

31. The late William Faxon, of Hartford, Conn., at one time assistant secretary of the navy, formed an incomplete set of the signers.

As the imperfect set of the signers of the late Maj. Ben. Perley Poore, is soon to be dispersed, together with his several thousand American autographs, it is unnecessary to further refer to his collection, of which we have no specific account.

The incomplete set of signers made by Dr. Lewis Roper, of Philadelphia, was purchased at his death, by the late Jos. T. Mickley, of that city, at a sale in Feb., 1851, which took

place on a wet night when there were but few or no competitors; and after much improving, and completion prior to 1860, it was finally dispersed at auction, after Mr. Mickley's death, in Nov., 1878—many of the specimens bringing good prices for that day—Gwinnett, L. S., $110; Lynch signature, $95; Hall, A. L. S., $60; Hewes, A. L. S., $37.50; Hooper, A. L. S., $32; Middleton, L. S., $29; Penn, A. L. S., $27.50; F. L. Lee, A. L. S., $21; Heyward, D. S., $15.

Lewis J. Cist, of Cincinnati, who was born in Pennsylvania in 1818, was an early collector, commencing in 1835, but did not complete his set of the signers until 1850, when he received a Lynch signature from Mr. Tefft. His collection seems to have been the fifth completed set—Sprague, Raffles, Tefft, and Gilmor preceding him in this honor. Mr. Cist, quite a poet and *littérateur*, spent his life mainly in the employ of banks and insurance companies. His death at Cincinnati, March 31, 1885, caused the dispersion, separately, of his large collection of autographs at auction.

The collections of Henry C. Baird, of Philadelphia, commenced in 1842, and described in the *Bizarre* magazine, April, 1853, included a goodly portion of the signers, which have been dispersed. Dr. C. G. Barney, of Richmond, Va., made a fine collection of the signers, containing many valuable historical letters, and lacking only Lynch and Gwinnett; but despairing of securing these, he sold his autographs separately to other collectors. Col. Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, a literary man of much repute, made a collection of the signers, which lacked Taylor, Lynch, Middleton, Gwinnett, and Hall; he dying in February, 1879, his autographs were dispersed at auction in November following. The late Hon. Henry S. Randall, of Courtland, N. Y., also made a collection of the signers, which needed only Gwinnett of completion, which since his death, August 14, 1876, passed, with his other autograph groups, which he had been some thirty years gathering, into the hands of Mr. C. De F. Burns, and have been dispersed. Other collections—notably those of B. B. Thatcher, of Boston, Charles H. Morse, of Newburyport, Mass., Alfred B. Taylor, John G. Howard, and Edward Herrick, of Pennsylvania, John

R. Thompson, of Richmond, Va., and Joseph B. Boyd, of Maysville, Ky., have been disposed of, and served to strengthen other sets of autographs.

The autographs of extreme rarity, of some of the signers, are steadily but surely enhancing in value. The Lynch signature, which, in 1845, had no pecuniary value, brought $10 in 1867; $95 in 1878; subsequently $145; $150 in 1881, and $210 at the recent Cist sale. The Gwinnett, in document form, which brought $110 in 1878, and the same in 1881, commanded $185 at the Cist sale; and at this sale also a Lewis Morris letter brought $85, while a Stockton letter netted $50. Mr. Stauffer has refused $300 for his full letter of John Morton, of which only one other is known to be in existence.

Still other autograph collectors have been in the field. Col. Peter Force, of Washington, gathered many manuscripts and documents, which since his death, have passed into the library of Congress. In the *Bizarre* magazine, Philadelphia, Oct. 29, 1853, quite a list of other known autograph collectors of that period, is given: James T. Fields, of Boston, chiefly of literary characters; J. B. Moreau, of New York; Capt. Furman Seymour, U. S. A., West Point; Dr. Theo. L. Cuyler, Trenton, N. J.; Dr. L. R. Koecker, E. D. Ingraham, Wm. Schott, Jos. H. Hedges, and Dr. S. A. Allibone, all of Philadelphia—the latter since of the Astor Library, New York; James C. McGuire, Washington, including many papers of Gen. Knox, of the Revolution, and President Madison; Henry T. Oates, Charleston, S. C.; Oscar F. Keeler, Columbus, Miss., and Wm. L. Mackenzie, Toronto. It is not probable that any of these collections embraced any considerable number of the signers, nor have we any definite information whether any of these autograph garnerings, save those of Colonel Force, are still preserved intact, or have been dispersed. Such manuscript collections as those of Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, Peter Force, Francis Parkman, and the writer of this essay, as well as those of the historical societies of our country, do not properly come within the scope of this paper, as they were gathered, not for any autographic display and

embellishment, but for the sole object of subserving the purposes of history.

Sets of Signers of the Constitution

Besides the thirty-nine signers of the constitution, there were twenty-six others chosen, some of whom failed to attend the convention, and others of them who did attend, failed to affix their names to that instrument. Autographs of several of the signers proper are difficult to obtain. A distinguished collector states, that his personal experience leads him to say, that the relative rarity of the autographs of the delegates who did not sign the constitution, would be fairly expressed, at this time, by the following classification:

1. Those most readily obtained: E. Gerry, Caleb Strong, Robert Yates, John Lansing, Luther Martin, Edmund Randolph, and Nathaniel Pendleton.

2. John Pickering, Oliver Ellsworth, John Neilson, John F. Mercer, and Patrick Henry.

3. Benjamin West, Wm. Churchill Houston, Abraham Clark, James McClung, Alexander Martin, Wm. R. Davie, Richard Caswell, Wm. Pierce, and George Walton.

4. Francis Dana, George Mason, George Wythe, and William Houston.

5. Willie Jones, the rarest of all.

In briefly describing the sixteen full collections of the constitutional signers, and the incomplete sets as well, any mode of discrimination is not without its difficulties. In following the rule laid down in classifying the sets of the declaration signers, giving those precedence having the largest number of A. L. S., there is no certainty that really the best collections, if judged by their condition or historical value, are properly recognized. At present, however, we see no better way to get at the matter; and if not deemed the best, each one must readjust the list to suit his own judgment, with the facts as they are reported and presented. If a committee of experts, as at a fair, were personally and carefully to examine the several collections in detail, they might reach very different results.

1. **Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia.** His set of the signers of the constitution is a superior one—undoubtedly the best extant. It is wholly composed of A. L. S., and includes not only the thirty-nine signers proper, but the twenty-six others who were chosen delegates, and who either failed in their attendance, or left before the completion, and signing of the constitution. Several of the autographs of the twenty-six non-signers are more difficult of obtainment than those of any of the signers proper.

2. **D. McN. Stauffer, of New York,** has all the signers proper, and all the others chosen, in A. L. S., save Blair only in D. S.; and largely illustrated.

3. **Dr. S. H. Fogg, of Boston.** Of his set of the thirty-nine signers of the constitution, all are A. L. S., except Blair, D. S. He has also full autograph letters, save of Wythe only, which is a signed document, of the other twenty-six who were chosen members of the convention of 1787, but failed to sign the constitution. Including William Jackson, the secretary, the collection is illustrated with forty-six engravings, leaving twenty without likenesses.

4. **Col. C. C. Jones, of Augusta, Georgia.** His set of the signers of the constitution is complete—all A. L. S., save Wilson and Read, A. D. S., and Franklin and Mifflin, D. S. The collection also includes all the members elect to the convention of 1787, who were either not present, or failed to sign the engrossed document; and all these also are A. L. S., except Benjamin West, A. D. S. This series is likewise illustrated with portraits, inlaid on Whatman paper, and bound.

5. **R. C. Davis, of Philadelphia.** His set of the signers of the constitution are all A. L. S., save Baldwin, D. S.; and he has also all, with one exception, of the twenty-six others chosen to the convention of 1787, but for one cause or another, failed to sign the constitution. This collection is also suitably illustrated.

6. **Ferd. J. Dreer, Philadelphia,** has all the signers in A. L. S.; and quite a portion, in some form of those chosen who did not attend, or did not sign. Properly illustrated.

7. **Dr. Thomas A. Emmet, of New York.** Of his collection of the signers of the constitution, thirty-seven are A. L. S., and only Broom and Carroll are A. D. S.; fifteen are of folio size, and twenty-four are quartos. The set also includes sixteen others who were chosen members, but did not sign the constitution—of which thirteen are full letters. It is an excellent set, and illustrated with portraits, views, etc.

8. **Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia,** has all the thirty-nine signers, and most of the others; and about two-thirds of the whole are A. L. S., with appropriate illustrations.

9. **State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.,** has all the signers proper in A. L. S., with suitable illustrative matter.

10. **Joseph W. Drexel, of New York,** possesses the set made up by Mr. Tefft, of Georgia, consisting of thirty-five of the signers proper, in A. L. S., with Sherman, Paterson, and Bedford, A. D. S., and Blair, D. S. Illustrated and bound.

11 and 12. **Prof. Leffingwell has two sets** of the signers of the constitution—the first consists of thirty-six A. L. S.; with Blair, L. S., and Bedford and Reed, D. S. The second collection has thirty-five A. L. S., with Bedford, G. Morris, Read, and Blair, D. S. He has also a set of those who were elected to the convention of 1787, but failed from various causes to sign the constitution.

13 and 14. **Col. Frank M. Etting, of Concordville, Pa.,** has two sets, which he represents as full, of which we have no classification.

15. **C. F. Gunther, of Chicago,** has the thirty-nine signers proper—not reported in detail, but supposed to be nearly all in full letter form.

16. **Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, of Boston,** has a unique set of signatures of the signers, appended to a neat copy of the constitution.

Incomplete Sets

1. Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs, of Lancaster, Pa., has all the signers proper, save Spaight, and only wanting three or four of the others chosen to the convention.

2. John M. Hale, of Philipsburg, Pa., has all of the signers proper, save Rutledge; and has a portion of the other delegates.

3. C. R. Greenough, Boston, lacks two of a full set of the signers.

4. G. M. Conarroe, Philadelphia, has thirty-five of the thirty-nine signers, lacking Johnson, Washington, Rutledge and Few.

5. James W. Howarth, of Glen Riddle, Pa., has thirty of the constitutional signers.

6. Edward E. Sprague, New York, has a partial set—several rare names are wanting.

7. The Pennsylvania Historical Society has an incomplete collection.

In all the complete collections of autographs of the signers of the constitution, and probably in most of the partial ones as well, the autograph of William Jackson, the secretary, is very properly included.

Sketch of Andrew Proudfit

By Breese J. Stevens

The Proufit family was of Scotch descent, and strict Scotch Presbyterians in religious belief. Andrew Proudfit's grandfather, after whom he was named, was one of five brothers who emigrated from Scotland, and, for a time, he was a physician at Troy, New York; but later, he retired to what became the family home at Argyle, Washington County, New York. His grandmother, Mary Lyttle, was the first white woman born in the town of Salem, in that county, of whom it was said, that "she went with two horses, during the Revolutionary War, with six bushels of wheat, as her gift toward supplying the army." His father, James Proudfit, was a merchant, first at Troy, New York, and then at Argyle, and died leaving Andrew a lad of fourteen years, the support of his mother, Maria J. Proudfit, and the head of his family. His uncle, Dr. William Proudfit, died in Milwaukee, in 1843, one of the earliest and most learned physicians of the country.

Andrew Proudfit was born on the 3d of August, 1820, at Argyle, where he received the usual common school education until his fourteenth year, when his mother depending on his support, he became a clerk in the store of an uncle. In June, 1842, when twenty-two years of age, with his mother, sister, and younger brother, he removed to Wisconsin, taking up a farm in Brookfield, in what was then Milwaukee, now Waukesha County. After devoting two years of labor in clearing off the heavy timber, he employed others to work the farm, while he engaged himself as bookkeeper and salesman in the general business firm of Shepard & Bonnell, in Milwaukee, where he continued for two years. Removing, in 1846, to Delafield, Waukesha County,

he erected a grist-mill, and operated it in connection with a country store for five years. In 1855, Mr. Proudfit removed to Madison, having exchanged his Delafield property for Beriah Brown's homestead in Madison, including the office of the *Argus and Democrat*. In September, 1846, shortly after his removal to Delafield, he was happily married at Ann Arbor, Michigan, to Elizabeth Ford, formerly of Jackson, Washington County, New York, by whom he had seven children.

Mr. Proudfit was a conspicuous man in this State, having participated in many of the movements of public interest of his day. As a member of the State senate, in 1858–59, in the infancy of the State, he took a prominent part in making the early laws, which more effectively than those of later days operated in developing its resources, and promoting its prosperity. He was for four years a member of the board of public works, which had the supervision of the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, provided for by a grant of lands made by Congress. He was also a member of the board of trustees of the State Hospital for the Insane, and was for several years its treasurer. As a contractor with the State, he aided in the construction of the Fox and Wisconsin improvements; in building the south wing of the State prison, at Waupun in 1854; the north wing of the capitol, at Madison, in 1864; two wings of the State Hospital for the Insane, near Madison, in 1866, and during the war, in furnishing camp supplies for Wisconsin volunteer soldiers while stationed within the State.

As a citizen he was much respected, and of large influence. He became the first vice-president, in 1871, of the First National Bank; a director of the Gas Light and Coke Company, and of the Park Hotel Company, all of Madison; and was mayor of that city in 1869–70. Of the Democratic school of politics, he was for many years chairman of the State Democratic committee, and always leading and influential.

Unusually sagacious and energetic in business, he early acquired property to an amount considered to be a generous competency, which was lost in the financial collapse of 1857, leaving him heavily encumbered with debt. He at once ac-

cepted a salaried employment, and courageously began the work of reducing his indebtedness, and re-building his estate. In 1863, he became a member of the Madison firm of M. E. Fuller & Co., and with such energy and courage pushed his fortunes, that, at his death, he was able to leave to his family an estate, free from debt, much greater than the one he lost in 1857. He was considered to be an able financier, and a man of the self-reliant, quiet, unsensational kind, who seeks large enterprises, and takes large risks.

He gave to many the aid of his credit, with no security other than his faith in their honor. He originated many schemes designed for the public good. Charitable, unostentatious, kind to the poor, a good neighbor, he was universally esteemed, respected and loved. He was appreciative of humor, and tender of the feelings of others. Late in life he became a member of the Episcopal church, and for several years was one of the wardens of Grace church at Madison.

He passed peacefully away at his home, in Madison, on Nov. 13, 1883, at the age of sixty-three years. The widow and four sons survive him.

In his death the State Historical Society of Wisconsin lost one of its oldest, most valued, and active members. Curator and member of the executive committee for thirteen years, he aided much in directing the course and upbuilding of the Society. No greater honor can the Society do itself, nor render the public greater good, than in worthily noting the career of those of its members who have wisely served their day and generation.

Memoirs of O. M. Conover, LL. D.

At a meeting of the State Historical Society, June 3, 1884, Gen. David Atwood, from the committee on obituaries, submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

In the city of London, on the morning of the 29th of April, 1884, O. M. Conover, LL. D., a prominent and useful member and officer of this Society, passed from earth. From foreign lands where Dr. Conover had been sojourning for nearly two years, his many friends had fondly hoped that it would be their pleasure soon to welcome his return in life, and in good cheer, to his chosen home at the capital of Wisconsin, benefited in health, and improved in knowledge obtained from his extended travels abroad, and better able to pursue his life of usefulness to the State, to this Society, and to his family and friends. But instead of this joyful welcome, the mortal remains of this good man were brought to our shores, and by mourning friends were received and deposited in their last resting place in the beautiful Forest Hill Cemetery.

The loss of a man so noble in character, so warm a friend and supporter of this Society, and so generally respected as was Dr. Conover, deserves and should receive from his survivors in charge of the State Historical Society, a befitting and appropriate recognition. Therefore,

Resolved, That in the death of Dr. O. M. Conover, the members of this Society, and the people of the State generally have sustained a serious loss; that in him were blended the elements of true greatness and worth. He was a ripe scholar, a profound thinker, a graceful writer of much clearness and force, a thoroughly read lawyer, a superior supreme court reporter, an honored and respected member and officer of the State Historical Society from the time of its incorporation, a genial companion and friend, a model gentleman in all the walks of life, and a conscientious, practical Christian. His social attachments were strong, his friendship was sincere and true; his grasp of hand was warm and cordial; in fine,

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, *This was a man.*"

Resolved, That the members of this Society mourn the death of Dr. Conover, as one whose life was really great from its simplicity and purity,

and as one whose intelligence and high culture caused him to rank among the Society's most valuable, accomplished and useful members and officers; and that they tender to the immediate family of the deceased, their sincere condolence and sympathy in this time of their sore affliction.

Resolved, That these resolutions be placed upon the records of this Society, and that a copy of the same be forwarded to the family of the deceased.

Rev. Dr. Richards and Chief Justice Cole were requested to prepare memorial papers on Dr. Conover's life and character.

I—By Charles H. Richards, D. D.

No one could come into close association with Dr. O. M. Conover without feeling the singular charm of his life. Quiet and unostentatious, shrinking from conspicuous positions, he did not gain nor desire the wide notoriety that some men of more slender endowments attained. But such was his large and varied ability, and such the unusual excellence and beauty of his life that eminent men who knew him well deemed him worthy to rank among the illustrious men of the State.

It is particularly fitting that one who was not only a citizen of Wisconsin and a resident in Madison for thirty-four years, but who was also a charter member of the Wisconsin Historical Society, its treasurer for sixteen years, and for the last fifteen years of his life one of its curators, should have some special tribute to his memory in its records. His life is his own best eulogy. In response to the invitation of this Society, I present a brief sketch of his career, which in itself exhibits those qualities of character that made him eminent.

Obadiah Milton Conover was born in Dayton, Ohio, October 8, 1825. His father was Obadiah Berlew Conover, and his mother was Sarah Miller, whose family was from Kentucky, in which State she was born. On his father's side Dr. Conover traced his ancestry back through a long line of New Jersey families (where his father was born), to an

ancient estate of the Kouwenhovens in Holland, near Utrecht. He was always proud of his Dutch origin, and of his lineal connection with a people of such sturdy vigor, intelligence and courage, that they not only "wrested their territory from the sea," but in spite of the terrible oppression and persecution of two of the cruelest and most bigoted tyrants of history, Charles V, and Philip II, wrested their independence from despots, and established the Republic of the United Netherlands. These thrifty and enterprising people at the close of the 16th century had attained "the commercial leadership of the world." Motley says of them, that "in every branch of human industry these republicans took the lead." And he declares that the chief source of their wealth and power was the ocean, on which they had at this time three thousand ships, and one hundred thousand sailors.

It was natural that such a people should seize upon the golden opportunities which the New World opened to them, to enlarge their dominions and increase their wealth. To the New Netherland, established about the mouth of the Hudson River, where the Dutch traders had for some years been doing a thriving business with the Indians in furs, came these stout-hearted, energetic burghers in considerable numbers. In 1626, they purchased Manhattan Island, the site of the New World metropolis. Hither came Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, in 1632, whose name appears in 1647 as one of the board of nine men, selected by the colony to be a check upon the high-handed proceedings of the imperious governor, Peter Stuyvesant. He appears again in 1649, as one of the three delegates sent to Holland to bear a remonstrance to the states general against the methods of that haughty and irascible ruler. He was doubtless the first of the name on these shores, and Dr. Conover was of the eighth generation in lineal descent from him. By natural and gradual transitions the name has been transformed from Kouenhoven, which still clings to the ancient estate in Holland, to Conover.

It was Dr. Conover's good fortune to visit the home of his ancestors in Holland but a few weeks before his death. His

impressions of the country and the people are given in a letter to his brother, in which he writes:

"I looked upon this little country and its people with peculiar interest, because it was the 'home of our ancestors' on our father's side. In its external appearance it was much what I expected, but almost perfectly flat, and traversed in all directions by canals of all sizes. Everywhere there was evidence of thrift and careful culture. In the quiet inland cities, Utrecht, the Hague, Delft, one is impressed with Dutch industry and cleanliness. In the rural districts one sees more pleasant homes than in any other part of the continent that I have visited, and the Dutch gentlemen are credited with being specially fond of country homes.

"As to the people, I confess that I was greatly surprised by their appearance and manners. I expected to find them substantial and sensible, but rather heavy. On the contrary they are more like Americans than any other European people I have seen. A fairer-looking, brighter, more active, more intelligent people it has not been my fortune to encounter anywhere. Of course this is not equally true of all classes; there are heavy and stupid physiognomies, especially among the peasantry and a corresponding class in the cities. This is true among all the Germanic peoples, perhaps among all peoples. But speaking of the general average of the Dutch people as I saw them, I should say that in personal dignity and independence, quick intelligence, physical and mental alertness, and in certain indescribable physical characteristics, they are quite of the American type, with here and there in individuals something that is perhaps more suggestive of an Englishman.

"The Hague, which is the capital of Holland, is simply the most attractive city for a residence that I have seen in Europe; perhaps I should call it a quiet, wide-streeted, spacious, airy, elegant town, rather than a great city, with little trade or manufacturing, but full of pleasant homes and bright, handsome-looking people. I call it (though ten or twelve times as large, and a great deal flatter) 'the Madison of Europe.'"

The boyhood of Dr. Conover was spent in Dayton, then a

thriving and pleasant village, having, at the time he left it for college, about six thousand inhabitants. The educational advantages were good for the time, and he studied in the academy where he was afterwards an instructor. He was prepared for college when fifteen years of age, and entered the College of New Jersey (Princeton), from which he was graduated in 1844. The two years succeeding his graduation were spent in teaching, first, near Lexington in Kentucky, and then as an instructor in Latin and Greek in Dayton Academy. While teaching in the latter place, he spent his leisure time in studying law in the office of Schenck and Conover, the latter gentleman being his older brother, and the first named being Gen. Robert C. Schenck, since distinguished for various public services.

But perhaps neither the study nor the practice of law were quite to his taste, which turned more naturally and eagerly to the quiet pursuits of the scholar, and to the attractive fields of literature. His talents and his training alike fitted him for success in a quieter vocation, where he could gratify his thirst for knowledge and his love of books. Another motive, arising from the profound moral earnestness of his nature, united with these to divert him from the profession toward which he had seemed to look. The claims of the Christian religion took hold of his intellect and conscience with great power. Though he had declared his belief in it, and had been for some time a devout and earnest church-member, yet amid the conflict of opinions and the differences of judgment and interpretation among good men, there were certain questions that lay near the foundations of religious thought on which his mind was not satisfied. If religion was grounded in truth, he perceived that it was the most momentous and important concern in human life. He determined to make a searching and honest inquiry into the matter, and arrive, if possible, at some clear and consistent view of the fundamental truths of the spiritual life. It is a striking testimony to his self-sacrificing devotion to the truth and to the heroic earnestness of his moral nature, that at this time he turned aside from the career toward which he had been looking, and devoted his little patrimony to

three years of solid and thorough study in this field of inquiry. It was this motive, rather than any particular expectation of devoting his life to the work of the Christian ministry, that appears to have led him to Princeton Theological Seminary in 1846, from which he was graduated in 1849.

The result of this theological study, to which he gave the best energies of his mature and scholarly mind, was to bring him into a clear, rational and settled Christian faith, which was the solace and stay of all his after years. Certain conclusions, indeed, of his venerated instructors he could not accept. This spirit of frank but kindly dissent from the opinions of many good people, and of fearless but reverent inquiry for the truth, he preserved to the end of his life. Yet he had found firm footing for his faith upon the fundamental verities of religion, and he walked with steady tread in this pathway of Christian belief, all his days.

Though now licensed as a preacher, he rarely occupied a pulpit. Partly, perhaps, because he felt himself better adapted to other work than that of constant public speaking, and partly for other reasons, he again turned aside from the vocation on whose threshold he stood, to devote himself to other work, for which he deemed himself better fitted.

He came to Madison in 1849, then a little village of large expectations, and for a few months was the editor of a literary and educational monthly called *The North-Western Journal*. But in 1850, he was appointed instructor in the ancient languages in the University of Wisconsin, then newly organized. There were at that time but two members of the university faculty John H. Lathrop, who had been elected chancellor in 1848, and John W. Sterling, elected as a principal of the preparatory department in the same year, and beginning work in his department, February 5, 1849. The university was not fully launched on its career of work until the formal inauguration of Chancellor Lathrop, January 16, 1850. Mr. Conover was soon after called to the work of instruction, and was thus the third member of its faculty in order of appointment in a roll that

now includes a large number of distinguished names. His accurate and enthusiastic scholarship peculiarly fitted him for the work in which he was now engaged, and in 1852, he was appointed professor of ancient languages and literature, which position he filled with marked ability and success until 1858. His mind was thoroughly imbued with the classic spirit, and his teaching was no dull routine of drudgery, but with keen relish he led his pupils back to drink at the refreshing springs of early literature, and showed them amid the ruins of the past many of the foundation stones of our modern civilization. His acquaintance with his department was not superficial and perfunctory; he lived amid the very scenes of which he taught. The Roman Forum and the Athenian Acropolis were as familiar to his mind as the capitol park; Plato and Virgil were intellectual comrades with whom he held delightful converse. This enthusiastic delight in the language, history, literature and influence of the two classic races that have powerfully affected modern life and thought, remained as a life long passion, and his late turning aside from the exhausting duties that had worn out his strength, to find rest and refreshment in study and exploration in his beloved Athens, was very characteristic.

In 1858, in one of the periodic revolutions that marked the early history of the university, he passed out of its faculty, and devoted himself to other pursuits. But the remembrance of his work was such, and his temperament and habit of mind were so pre-eminently that of the scholar, that the title of "professor" was that by which he was commonly called, until his eldest son became entitled to it, when to prevent confusion, Dr. Conover was called by the honorary title so worthily bestowed by the institution he had so faithfully served.

But his interest in the university and labor for it, did not cease with the termination of his professorship. He became a member of its board of regents, where his wise counsel and far-seeing plans and indefatigable efforts for its success were esteemed of great value. He filled this position of important trust till 1867, sustaining thus an offi-

cial relation to the university for seventeen years. In his visit abroad during the last two years of his life, he collected busts, pictures and books for the university, which should illustrate and assist the work in its ancient classical department; and he bequeathed to its library his own large and admirable collection of Greek and Latin authors, in the best editions, including nearly all the important writers of the classic period.

Turning his attention again to the law, he was admitted to the Dane County bar in 1859. In the spring of 1861, on the appointment of P. L. Spooner, Esq., as reporter of the supreme court of Wisconsin, he became associated with him in the preparation and publication of the *Wisconsin Reports,* beginning with volume xii. On the resignation of Mr. Spooner in 1864, Prof. Conover was appointed his successor, and held the position for twenty years, until his death in 1884. The ability and success with which he accomplished the arduous and important work of preparing the *Reports,* often at the rate of three large volumes a year, received universal commendation from his profession. For eleven years of this period he also filled the position of librarian of the State Library.

Dr. Conover was married in 1849, to Miss Julia Darst, in Dayton, Ohio, a noble Christian woman, who won for herself in their Wisconsin home the warm esteem and love of all who knew her. Three children were born to them, who still survive—Miss Edith Conover, Prof. Allan D. Conover, professor of engineering in the University of Wisconsin, and Frederic K. Conover, Esq., his father's successor as reporter of the supreme court. A heavy affliction befell Dr. Conover in 1863, when his wife, on whose counsel and companionship he so much depended, was taken from him by death, and

> "She who gave the world its beauty
> Was in her grave."

With rare Christian fortitude and patient devotion he gave himself to the care of his shattered home, to be not only the guide, but the companion of his children. Out of

this trial sprang the two poems, "Via Solitaria," and "Reconciliation," which have attracted much attention and praise for their high literary merit. The first of these poems had a somewhat singular experience, having been passed from hand to hand for nearly twenty years for the comfort of those in sorrow, and finally being sent by one of the most competent literary critics in the country to *The Independent,* and published by it, as an anonymous poem that bore strong internal evidence of being Longfellow's. The mistaken identity was the more strange, since the strikingly beautiful and pathetic lines had made their first appearance in that paper, at the head of its columns, nearly a score of years before, over Dr. Conover's name.

It was a matter of regret to Dr. Conover's friends that he did not employ himself more in literary production, for which his wide and varied culture, his vigorous intellect, and his rare felicity of expression, peculiarly fitted him. But the engrossing work of his legal publications taxed his powers to the utmost, and beyond some occasional addresses while in the university, and some fugitive poems and essays, he did little in this line. His literary knowledge and judgment, however, were the constant reliance of his friends. He was one of the founders and for many years an officer, of the Madison Literary Club. And it was in recognition of his large general attainments and literary ability, as well as of his proficiency in professional work that the University of Wisconsin conferred upon him in 1878, the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

Dr. Conover was a member of the First Congregational Church in Madison, and for nine years was one of its deacons. His familiar presence in its meetings was greatly prized. With his massive brow, his thoughtful and attentive face, and his unaffected piety, he seemed to his friends to unite the mind of a philosopher with the heart of a saint. He approached all questions in a calm, judicial spirit, and advocated his opinions with mingled courage and catholicity. Those who have heard him speak in private concerning the matters of faith will remember the singularly illumin-

ating power of his words, the clearness of his insight, and the absence of all dogmatism.

His connection with the Wisconsin Historical Society, holding an official relation to it during its entire history, up to the time of his death, has already been noted. He was deeply interested in its growth and gave much time and thought to forwarding its work. Its researches and its collections of material for future history, kindled his enthusiasm, and to the work of wisely increasing its large library he gave assiduous attention and wise counsel.

In the winter of 1882, finding that his many years of close and confining work were wearing upon his health, which had for a long time been frail, he resolved to take a year or two of rest. It seemed to him that nothing would refresh and invigorate him so much as a visit to those classic lands, with whose scenes he had long been made familiar by his studies; and especially did he desire to winter in Athens, the ancient home of a life and literature that he keenly enjoyed. An arrangement was made by which his place as reporter of the supreme court was to be supplied during his absence by his son, Frederic K. Conover, Esq.

In September, 1882, he was married to Mrs. Sarah Fairchild Dean, a cherished friend of many years, and together they turned their faces toward the storied lands of the old world, for a tour of mingled recreation and study. Sad as is the thought that he then parted from country and home not to return to them again, it seems a fitting and beautiful climax to his career that his last two years should have been almost ideal years, in realizing the dream of a lifetime in visiting places of profound interest to him, and in enjoying with a companion whose tastes and thoughts were one with his own, all the scenes and pleasures of this eventful journey.

After a pleasant summer voyage across the Atlantic, and a leisurely jaunt over the continent, with a brief look at many places of historic interest, they arrived at Athens in the late fall, and found in the moderate winter of that southern climate an agreeable contrast to "the long rigors of

a Wisconsin winter." It was refreshing to be where "roses bloomed in the open air with little interruption, and there was hardly a day when we could not have gathered wild flowers in the fields." I cannot give a better view of his delightful experiences in this sojourn abroad, than by quoting from his own words in correspondence with his friends.

"I can hardly tell you," he says, in a letter to his brother, "in a few words, how we have spent our time; but it has run away very fast; and notwithstanding the intense desire that comes over us to see our own land, we look with a sort of dismay upon the rapid approach of the time when, if our original plan is adhered to, we must bid a final good-bye to Athens and to Greece. I can hardly define to you, or hardly express without seeming extravagance, the charm and fascination which Attica has had for me. The historical associations, the ruins, the hills about the Acropolis carved for the foundations of little Athenian houses so many ages ago, in the very infancy of that civilization and culture to which we owe so large a part of our own, especially the ever-beautiful Acropolis with its remains of Parthenon, Erechtheium, and Propylæa, have no doubt, a great deal to do with it. But apart from this, there is something in the little and comparatively barren country itself, in its mountains, islands and plains, in its air and sky and sea, that seems to my fancy to differentiate it from all the rest of the world that I have seen, and to invest it with a magical attraction, in spite of many drawbacks in the character and condition of its present population.

"I did not come here to work, but to rest. Still, we have spent a part of almost every day in dabbling a little in modern Greek (and I also in the ancient tongue), and a part in reading up on the antiquities. I have gained very slight use of the language yet for colloquial purposes, though I read books and the newspapers with reasonable facility."

He enjoyed keenly his visits to the Acropolis and other famous or interesting places, and his occasional rambles outside the city. Some delightful acquaintances were formed here, including Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann, "and their

handsome Agamemnon," Hon. Eugene Schuyler, the American minister and his wife, and Prof. Goodwin, of Harvard College, the head of the American School for that year, who, with his wife, hospitably entertained their American friends. Of the school he writes:

"Besides its head, the school consists of some eight young men, graduates of American colleges, who wish to continue here their Greek studies in philology and archæology, who seem to us upon the whole a very choice set, and of whom, as Americans, we are rather proud. * * * When I add that all the young men of the school have studied in Germany, most of them for two years or longer, and that two of them have already received, and others are expecting to receive, 'doctorates' from German universities, you will see how different is the training now beginning to be expected from candidates for Greek professorships in America from that which was demanded when we were young. * * *

"It is only within a month or so that the weather has seemed sufficiently warm and settled for excursions out of Athens, requiring the whole of a day. Twice we have visited Eleusis, the scene of the famous Eleusinian mysteries, where the ruins of the great temple of Ceres and of other buildings connected with it are very interesting. The road thither is a beautiful one, through a mountain defile, and is nearly the same as that 'holy way' along which in ancient times went annually the solemn procession from Athens to Eleusis. One delightful day we spent in wandering about Peiraeus, and the other and smaller ancient harbors in its vicinity; and another in a trip by rail to Peiraeus, and thence a ramble and carriage drive along the strait of Salamis, in full view of the spot where the fleet of Xerxes was defeated and destroyed by that of Athens.

"Another day, in company with Prof. and Mrs. Goodwin, Prof. Sayce of Oxford, Eng., Mr. Ramsay (a young English scholar who is now making himself a name by his researches in Asia Minor), Mr. Felton and several of the

young men of the school, we visited Salamis itself, where among other things, we had a long and interesting talk with Prof. Sayce among the ruins of an ancient quay (perhaps of Roman times), and over a broad hill near the present harbor and village on the eastern side of the island, apparently once fortified, and showing still the traces of archaic walls. * * * I should like also to speak of a drive past Colonus and the olive groves of Plato's Academy, to the modern Albanian village at the foot of Parnes, now known as Menidi, but the supposed site of the ancient Attic dome of Acharnæ, famous in Athenian history as having furnished the title and scene of one of Aristophanes' comedies.

"Last of all I should like to describe to you an eight day excursion to the Cyclades Islands, where about half the time was spent on the island of Tenos, partly in attendance upon a remarkable Greek 'pilgrimage' to a miraculous image of the Virgin found in a large church on that island, and partly in a mule-back ride by mountain paths across the island; while other days were spent at the city of Syra, on the island of Syros, with an excursion through that island. When I tell you there were present at Tenos some thirty or thirty-five thousand pilgrims besides ourselves; that they came not only from all parts of Greece, but from Asia Minor, from Constantinople, and even from Russia and Egypt, and that many of them wore the native costumes of their respective districts; and when I add that in our climbs and excursions, on foot, on mules, on donkeys or by carriage, we not only saw a large part of the mountains and valleys, the convents, monasteries, churches and pretty villages of the two islands named, but caught views of the southern heights of Eubœa and of nearly all of the important islands of the Cyclades group, including the little island of Delos, which in classic times was a sacred spot to the whole Hellenic race, to which they resorted for the worship of the Delian Apollo with as much zeal and devotion as the modern Greeks of some classes show in making the pilgrimage to Tenos—you will understand how interesting this visit was to us."

In such studies and recreations the winter of 1883 passed rapidly and happily away. Leaving Athens May 23, they enjoyed a busy but most interesting week in Constantinople. Then, turning westward, they came, by way of Vienna, to Dresden, which they made headquarters till the autumn. The sojourn here was varied by excursions, now to Bayreuth, to hear Wagner's great opera of "Parsifal," now to Nuremberg, "to live in the heart of the middle ages for four or five unforgettable days," and then to the university towns of Leipzic and Halle.

In October, they went to Berlin for the winter, drawn chiefly by the attraction of the university lectures, especially those on Greek archæology, art, and history, for which his winter in Athens had given him redoubled interest. It was characteristic of Dr. Conover that though he was abroad for health and recreation, and might have enjoyed some of the privileges of that great literary center without formally entering the university ranks, he was unwilling to take advantage of the rare opportunities except in the prescribed way. He was therefore matriculated as a regular student in the university for the winter semester. A letter to his sister shows with what eager delight he entered upon his privileges:

"I am giving four hours each week to a course of lectures by Prof. A. Kirchhoff, upon Greek political antiquities; four or five to a course by Prof. Curtius, on the history of the fine arts among the Greeks; two to a course by the same on 'art mythology;' and one to what is called here 'uebungen,' or practical exercises, in the same department, and under direction of the same professor. * * * Prof. Curtius is the author of the best German history of Greece, was one of the two or three German professors who conducted the exploration of the wonderful remains at Olympia, and is a great enthusiast as well as a very high authority in his department. In his lectures he makes liberal use of the museums of ancient art here, which are almost the richest in the world, in fact, bewildering in their richness."

The dark, damp days of a Berlin winter were more trying to the delicate health of Dr. Conover than the sunny

Athenian weather of the previous winter. Although the bright little *haus frau* assured him that the foggy and dismal November days were cases of "London weather," and not genuine Berlin days; while the sunny and pleasant days were *"kaiser* weather," fit for the emperor, they were fearful that the unfriendly climate would drive them from the many attractions of the great German capital farther south. But the Berlin weather was better than their fears and permitted them to remain. They enjoyed, among other things, the long continued and varied celebration of the 400th anniversary of the birth of Luther, "the teacher of Germany," which was observed with characteristic German thoroughness and enthusiasm throughout the empire.

It is touching to note the yearning of his heart for home, amid all these delights. He writes: "Meanwhile do not be envying me the enjoyment of all these things, since I get them at the expense of being away from home, and from the society of my children and of my old friends and neighbors. It is certainly good for a man, after long, patient years of closely confining work, to get away for a while, and to see other lands and other ways; but for a good, steady diet there is nothing like one's own home; and if Sarah were not with me, I doubt whether all the attractions of Europe could induce me to spend the winter away from Madison."

On the 6th of February, they left Berlin, having spent there just four months, not only rich in varied enjoyment, but of great profit to a scholar of the cultivated taste, and the wide and thorough classical attainments which Dr. Conover possessed. As they were planning to reach home in the early summer, and wished to get some other glimpses of the Old World before returning to America, they now took their flight southward. By way of Munich and the Tyrol they came to Venice, whose peculiar fascinations he greatly enjoyed. And turning northward again at Milan, they passed into Switzerland, where, though early for mountain-climbing, they "took in the beauty and grandeur of the snowy peaks." Thence they came down the Rhine to Col-

ogne, and so to Holland, the home of Dr. Conover's ancestors, which he had been exceedingly desirous to visit.

"All the way from Cologne to this place," he writes from Amsterdam, "the country was extremely level, and pretty nearly all the Dutch part of it is a rich, low-lying farm country, intersected everywhere by canals. I found these canals even more numerous than I supposed: but a great majority of them, in the rural districts are quite too small for navigation, or large enough only for very small boats or skiffs, and these are used only or mainly for drainage and for boundaries of land, taking the place everywhere, so far as I have observed, of fences and hedges.

"This is the land of our Dutch ancestors. I had understood that the little hamlet of Kouenhoven was somewhere near Amsterdam, and so made no inquiries about it until I reached this city. But in conversing with a Dutch gentleman at the dinner table yesterday, I found that one of the two spots which he knew by that name (and clearly the one I was seeking) was in the neighborhood of Utrecht.

"So this morning I took a train, and ran over again to Utrecht; there found a horse-tram running to Seist (an hour's ride) through the little village of Bilt, and was set down by the driver at a hotel, 'Nieuw Kouenhoven,' just before the train reached that village. I made the landlord and his wife and son understand, as well as I could, that my name was also Kouenhoven, and what I came for. While they prepared me some dinner, I walked about the neighborhood, and took in a very distinct impression of it. It is on a paved high road from Utrecht to Seist, which runs through a rich and beautiful farming country, and is lined on both sides by very pleasant looking homes—villas and large, comfortable farm houses. On one side of the paved wagon road is the tramway; on the other a 'reitweg' for horsemen; beyond that, a raised way for footmen, shaded by trees, and along this a good canal, large enough for a local trade with narrow boats. From the road in front of the Kouenhoven hotel I could see the cathedral tower in Utrecht; while off to the rear were extensive woods, and to the left of these a

kind of fort or earthwork, guarding a still more important canal. The country was quite flat, as elsewhere in Holland, but very rich, and really quite attractive. All the houses seemed rather fresh and new; not one that could be referred back to a period so remote as that at which the original American Kouenhoven left that quiet spot (1632) and sailed for New Amsterdam and a new world. In fact, one does not see any houses that look so ancient as that, anywhere in the rural districts, so far as I have observed. In walking from the Kouenhoven hotel toward the village of Bilt, I noticed a very spacious, rather old-fashioned farm-house, and made up my mind that it was the oldest-looking one in that neighborhood. Afterwards a young Dutch gentleman told me he knew the place well, and that the spacious, old-fashioned house above mentioned was on what he called the Oude (old) Kouenhoven, while the hotel at which I had stopped was on the Nieuw (new) place of the same name. On the whole I was much pleased with this trip in search of the home of my ancestors, finding the region so very attractive; but I had not time, unfortunately, to hunt up the 'friedhof' or cemetery, in which, possibly, I might have found some trace of them—though that is extremely doubtful."

This "pious pilgrimage" to the ancestral home having been accomplished, he was now ready to leave the continent. Arriving in London, he wrote from there, April 5, 1884:

"We came straight to lodgings here, which prove quite satisfactory, and in which we may perhaps remain until near the first of next month, though our plans for the next six weeks are not fully formed. Our chief remaining anxiety at present, I think, is to get back home in safety and comfort, and to find there our families and friends that are left, in like safety and comfort."

But this great desire of his heart was not to be realized. Frail of constitution, and worn by his years of incessant toil more than his friends had known, with an irregularity and weakness of the heart's action which had long filled his friend and physician, Dr. Favill, with intense anxiety on

the occasion of any attack upon the lungs, he was quite unfitted to resist any serious illness. A heavy cold fastened itself upon him soon after he arrived in London, which he considered at first but a slight indisposition, interrupting but a little his plans. But the delicate machinery could not endure the additional burden put upon it by the severe congestion of the lungs. His strength was speedily exhausted, and hardly had his condition begun to seem alarming, when suddenly, about midnight, April 29, 1884, his spirit took its flight. With his face turned homeward with eager longing, he made a quick transition to another and brighter home. His own lines seem singularly applicable to the event:

"For life to me is as a station,
Wherein apart a traveler stands,—
One absent long from home and nation
In other lands,—
And I, as he who stands and listens
Amid the twilight's chill and gloom,
To hear approaching in the distance,
The train for home."

While he was waiting for the voyage which should bring him to the spot he loved best on earth, the summons came, and he passed from night to day, from long wandering in a foreign clime to rest forever in the home of light above.

His body was brought to Madison, and on May 28th, after appropriate funeral services at the house of his son, Prof. A. D. Conover, was borne, by loving and reverent hands, to the beautiful slopes of Forest Hill Cemetery. The judges of the supreme court, and representatives of the university faculty, and of the State Historical Society, with which he had so long been associated, united with many other friends of thirty years in the tribute of esteem and love to one who will long be remembered as one of the purest, ablest, noblest of men.

II—By Chief Justice Orsamus Cole, LL. D.

The death of Dr. O. M. Conover was an event which brought genuine sorrow to a circle of his personal friends in Madison and elsewhere. That circle was not a large one, for the studious habits, the simple but reserved manners of Dr. Conover, would prevent him becoming generally known in any community. He was so unobtrusive on all occasions, and everywhere, that it was only those of congenial tastes and sympathies, who met him often in some relation of life, who ever knew the man as he really was. Some, however, there were who did know him well, and learned to love and admire him for his elevated, guileless character.

The facts of his early life are already presented in a paper prepared by another hand, consequently will not be repeated here. It will be my aim to speak briefly of some of his personal qualities and mental traits, as these impressed me, in our quite intimate intercourse for more than a quarter of a century.

I first became acquainted with Dr. Conover in 1855, when he was a professor in our State University. He then, and for a period afterwards, filled the chair of professor of ancient languages and literature. This chair his large attainments as a classical scholar well qualified him to fill with distinction and usefulness. I have always thought it was unfortunate both for him and the university that his connection with the institution and this professorship was ever broken. For if that institution shall realize the hopes of its best friends, if it does the work in this State for science, sound learning and polite literature which it is expected to, and should do, Greek and Latin will always form an essential part of its course of study.

By this remark it must not be understood that the writer insists or holds to the opinion that all the students who seek the advantages for an education that our university affords, should have a knowledge of Greek and Latin as a condition to becoming members of its classes; or that classical culture

should be favored at the expense of the modern languages and physical sciences. Merely this is meant, that the classics should not be dropped from its curriculum. It is believed there will always be found among its ingenuous youth some who will be desirous of acquiring a liberal education in the proper sense of these words, and who will seek the highest and most generous culture that can be obtained at any institution of learning. Such will wish to read, in the original, the most perfect and exquisite productions of poetry and eloquence which the world has seen, and these certainly are to be found in the literature of Greece and Rome. Let the university then furnish the amplest and best facilities for the study of the classics for all who may wish to pursue them. True there is danger that popular clamor may drive from the university, for a time, the classics. There is an increasing demand that its course of studies shall be practical: such as will fit men and women for the active duties of life; enable them to build and run railroads, and to carry on the business enterprises of the day. An answer to this utilitarian view of the object of education is at hand, but cannot be given because this digression is already too great. With no intention of disparaging the qualifications of any of the accomplished professors who are now, or who have been connected with the university, it was in my mind merely to observe that Dr. Conover seemed to me specially fitted for an instructor in the classics. In the first place he had a sort of enthusiasm for studying them. This ardor he would naturally communicate to some extent to his pupils. He took great delight in reading Greek and Roman authors, more especially the former. Of course he did not confine himself to the works in the college course, but read a great body of Greek and Latin literature besides. He informed me that he had read all of the Homeric poems. He was also quite familiar with the works of the immortal historians and dramatists of Greece. The awful ideas of fate and retributive justice which pervade the great tragedies seem to have had an irresistible charm for his mind. And so he read the ancient authors constantly, finding in them society in solitude and solace in sorrow. I can but

believe he measurably gave up these studies for the law with inexpressible pain and regret. Could he have continued them what an unfailing source of peace and joy they would have been to him, and they would have enabled him to produce something in his chosen field of study which would have been an honor to the university. I am certain, too, that Dr. Conover would have been a most popular lecturer to his classes and made any study attractive. For he had digested all his erudition, had made it a part of his mental texture ready for use, and he knew how to use it. He could communicate his ideas with precision and logical force. He was one of the best conversationalists I have ever known.

But Dr. Conover was not only thoroughly acquainted with classical literature: he also had a thorough knowledge of the French and German languages, which he read with facility. And it goes without saying that he was a fine belles-lettres scholar, and was perfectly well versed in English in all its branches. He was passionately fond of the best English poetry, and I have often resorted to him to help me recall some half-forgotten lines from some author. His memory was very retentive; it seemed a perfect store-house of the most priceless treasures. And occasionally there fell from his pen some poetic production so beautiful, that, in the language of a common friend of rare worth, "left us in doubt whether, in the exclusiveness of his official duty, literature had not lost even more than jurisprudence has gained" by his labors as reporter of the supreme court of this State. These remarks would be incomplete were not a word added as to his merits as such reporter. And upon that point I venture to quote from what was said by me on the announcement of his death to the supreme court:

"Dr. Conover was appointed the official reporter of this court August 11th, 1864, and held the office until his death. During that period, the series of reports from volume xvi to volume lviii was published. The labor of preparing these volumes for publication was mainly performed by Dr. Conover. This fact alone furnishes ample proof of the amount of labor which he must have necessarily performed as a reporter. But the value of such work is not to be esti-

mated solely by its magnitude. It is a common experience with the profession that often times cases are so imperfectly or badly reported that it is quite impossible to get at the real facts so as to determine the point or value of the decision. But in the volumes prepared by Dr. Conover the excellence of the work done is equal to its extent. Generally the facts are given in a brief, accurate and perspicuous manner, clothed in language singularly clear and attractive. We venture the assertion that his reports will compare favorably in manner, accuracy of statement, and literary merits with the best American reports of the day."

Dr. Conover was no recluse. He lived in the present, actively discharging all his duties as a citizen. He identified himself with the Republican party in politics, but was no blind partisan. He often criticised with boldness and severity the measures and men of his party. But he was loyal to his country in the hour of supreme peril. In the darkest day of our great civil conflict, when the hearts of brave men almost despaired of a favorable issue, he was confident and hopeful. More than once did he say to me during that period, that to his mind but one result was inevitable, and that was that the rebellion would be finally suppressed and the authority of the general government would be re-established throughout the entire country. So, too, he was keenly alive to all popular movements and all discussions of social questions which agitated modern society. He formed his opinions as to the wisdom or folly of all this agitation, and he had the courage to avow his convictions. He was always ready to battle for what he considered the right cause. He was a serious, honest seeker after truth, and there was that moral earnestness about him that commanded one's respect for his views, however much you might disagree with him.

I have often heard him discuss with another highly-gifted common friend, those questions pertaining to man's destiny, which ever confront the serious thinker. Both possessed fine analytical minds and could reason powerfully and well as any one on these subjects. They were generally in their views as wide apart as the poles when they commenced and

when they closed their discussions. Still both were so candid, fair and sincere, frankly admitting the force of every fact or argument which made against their respective positions; and, while vigorously assailing each other's views, doing so with so much good temper and entire respect, that it was delightful to listen to them. It was like witnessing a trial of strength between two athletes, yet even a finer spectacle than that, by as much as a mental contest is superior to a physical one. But they were both such honest thinkers that it was plain they cared more to reach the truth than to win a momentary triumph.

Dr. Conover was, in every way, a most estimable person. There was much humor in his conversation, especially before a great sorrow befell him in the loss of his first wife. Even after that event, he did not appear gloomy when in the society of his friends. Though for years he trod "Via Solitaria," when at times the bright skies and loving airs of June brought no joy; when the sweet voices of nature seemed out of tune, still at the call of duty he craved life and health, and became reconciled to his lot. And he says in one of the beautiful poems I have alluded to:

> "But somehow, ere I am aware,
> There comes a hush and thrill,
> For all the sunshine and the air,
> A *Presence* seems to fill;"

Dr. Conover was a man of the utmost probity of character and purity of heart. "Warm in his affections, an invaluable and faithful friend, a devoted husband and father, and toward his fellow-men exhibiting an enlarged and comprehensive affection and reverence for their rights and liberties."

Now that he is lost to their sight, his friends realize his worth and the great loss they and the public sustain in his death. They appreciate more than ever the gentleness, the elevation, the beauty of his character, and the rare example he afforded in a life of "sweetness and light."

Wisconsin Necrology, 1879-82

By Lyman C. Draper

Our necrological notices of the pioneers and prominent persons of Wisconsin commenced with 1874, and continued to the close of 1881. After supplying several omissions, the narrative is continued.

1879

Mrs. Elizabeth F. Beall, a niece of J. Fenimore Cooper, and relict of the late Lieut. Gov. Samuel W. Beall, died at Fond du Lac, February 14th, in her sixty-ninth year. She migrated to Green Bay with her husband in the summer of 1820, on a schooner sailed by Capt. Blake, in company with Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Irwin, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Cadle, and Miss Frances Henshaw, and settled in that town. In September of that year, when Christ Church was organized by Mr. Cadle, Mrs. Beall became one of the constituent members, her husband being one of the first vestrymen. In the summer of 1835, when the Green Bay land district was established, Mr. Beall was appointed the first receiver by President Jackson; and after serving in this capacity a year or two, he retired, and removed with his family to Cooperstown, N. Y., in the summer of 1837, but returned to Green Bay in the latter part of 1839. In 1842, they removed to Taycheedah, near Fond du Lac. She was an estimable woman. Her two sons early settled in California, where the younger died several years since; one of her four daughters became the wife of Judge Levi Hubbell; another is Mrs. Bessie Pumpelly, of Fond du Lac.

On February 17th, Orlo B. Graves, at Green Bay, in his thirty-sixth year, where he had long been a prominent citizen, a lawyer by profession, filling the highest positions in the order of Odd Fellows, and serving several years as city attorney.

1880

James Holden, the first settler on Heart Prairie, Walworth County, died in that town, February 22d, in his sixty-seventh year. Born in Middlesex, Vt., August 5, 1813, on arriving at manhood he went to Boston; but, in 1837, he migrated to Wisconsin, first locating a claim at Sugar Creek, in Walworth County. Shortly after, business calling him to Chicago, he was necessarily absent about a month; when returning, he was chagrined to find his claim had been "jumped." He was cheered

by Maj. John Davis, who suggested to him a better locality on Heart Prairie, where he found the home he desired, erecting his 12 by 14 log cabin, and became the owner of a heifer, a dog and a cat. He subsequently married, and left several children.

Hon. William Blair, in Waukesha, July 13th, at the age of sixty years. He was born in Scotland, in 1820, and came to this country in 1836, settling in Wisconsin in 1845. He served as State senator during 1864–65, and served again in 1872–73, and 1876–77. For many years he was one of the trustees of the Industrial School for Boys, at Waukesha, and held various local offices. He was a superior business man, and highly respected.

1881

Hon. John A. Smith, at Geneva, September 10th, at the age of thirty-nine years. Born in the State of New York in 1842, he came to Wisconsin with his parents in 1855; and after securing a liberal education, he studied law, and volunteered as a private in the war, rising to the rank of a captain at the close of the contest. In 1867 and 1868, he represented his district in the legislature.

Hugh McIndoe was born in Dunbartonshire, Scotland, in 1832, and came to this country when only fifteen years of age. With his brother, the late Hon. Walter D. McIndoe, he settled at Wausau in the lumbering business; and after twenty-seven years' residence there, died September 23d, the result of an injury from a boiler explosion. He was useful and benevolent.

On September 23d, Michael O'Brien, at Darien, at the great age of one hundred and eight years. He was born in County Kerry, Ireland, June 24th, 1773; came to America in 1851; and, after spending two years in Indiana, came to Darien. His wife preceded him to the grave by some twenty years. Of their eleven children, but three survived their father—one eighty-three years of age. These data were obtained from his family by Hon. David Williams.

William Smith was born in Scotland in 1802, and came to America in 1834, with Alexander Mitchell, and others, locating in the fall of that year at Milwaukee. In the spring of 1835, he purchased one hundred and sixty acres of land within the present city limits; and, in the fall of 1836, burned a kiln of three hundred bushels of lime, and shortly after settled in Somers township, Kenosha County, improving one of the finest farms in the State. He died October 12th, at the age of seventy-nine years.

Deodat Brewster, an early pioneer of Walworth County, died October 28th, in his ninety-third year. He migrated from Vermont, in 1838, settling in the old precinct of Geneva, when it embraced one-fourth of the county. His wife died nine years before him. He was a man of temperate habits, unostentatious, and greatly respected.

Hon. William Duchman, at Menasha, November 14th, at the age of seventy-two. He was born in Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, October 8th,

1809. He served as register of deeds of Lancaster County, and was an aide on Gov. Johnston's staff. In 1849, he came to Milwaukee, and the next year located at Menasha, engaging in sawing lumber and manufacture of paper. In 1858, he was elected a member of the legislature, and filled other responsible positions.

Charles A. Noyes Sr., in Geneva, November 25th, in his seventieth year. He was born in Otsego Co., New York, in 1812. After clerking three years in Buffalo, he arrived at Chicago, May 10, 1836, and proceeded thence, partly by sloop and partly on foot, to Milwaukee, where he first learned from Solomon Juneau of Big Foot (now Geneva) Lake, where he arrived on the 21st of May, in time to assist in raising John Power's loghouse just south of the village of Geneva; and within a year was married to Nancy Warren, going all the way to Milwaukee to procure the services of an official authorized to perform the marriage ceremony. He subsequently settled awhile at Tryon's Corners, in Hebron, Ill., and while there in 1839, he secured a mail line from Chicago, by way of the Corners and Big Foot, to Madison, and was appointed postmaster at this place. This was one of the earliest postal routes in the country. In 1850, he went to California, returning three years thereafter, and, in 1858, he again went to the Golden State, returning in 1872. He was a man of enterprise, genial and social, and honorable and upright in all his dealings and relations with others.

Gustave de Neveu Sr., an early settler of Fond du Lac, died at Vancouver, Washington Territory, December 27th, from the effects of a carbuncle, aggravated by erysipelas. He was born at Savigny, near Vendome, France, March 30th, 1811. His father, François Joseph de Neveu, is said to have been the last Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, surviving to the great age of ninety-four years. During our Revolutionary War the elder De Neveu, a friend and companion of La Fayette, started for America, under Count d'Estaing, and Count de Grasse, to aid the struggling colonies, on the "Scipio," commanded by Capt. de la Motte Piquette; and in an engagement with the British off Havre, had his leg shattered by a shot, and was obliged to return home.

At the age of nine, Gustave and an elder brother entered the military school at La Flesche, remaining there ten years; the elder brother entering the French army, rose to the governorship of Algeria, and general of brigade, dying in 1871. Among the classmates of the De Neveus were Thiers, McMahon, Duc d'Aumale, Grevy, and others who became eminent in France. For some reason Gustave de Neveu did not enter the army, though he brought with him to this country the title of colonel; but devoted himself to artistic pursuits. At length, in 1834, at his father's suggestion, he migrated to America, learned the English language, and returned to Europe, but came back the next year. He first located at Batavia, N. Y., and engaged in teaching his native language. During one of his journeys across the Atlantic, Col. de Neveu became

acquainted with William Cullen Bryant, and the two were friends as well as mutual admirers until the latter's death.

In 1837, he went to Fond du Lac with a tolerable fortune, but with no practical knowledge whatever of coping with a wilderness. Nothing daunted, he purchased a large tract of land in Fond du Lac County, including a beautiful sheet of water, which now perpetuates his name as Lake de Neveu. At this period, it is related, that there were only three white men, but many Indians, in that region. But in due time, he wrought out a productive and attractive home.

In 1880, Col. de Neveu made investments at Duluth, and remained there that summer; and, in February, 1881, becoming much interested in the great enterprise of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and its route to the great western ocean, he went to Vancouver, where his son-in-law, J. J. Beeson, resided, and where he invested in lands in that Territory, and remained till his death. His ever active mind prompted him while there to temporarily give instructions in the French and other languages, and write occasionally for the press. Marrying Miss Harriet P. Dousman of Green Bay, in 1840, she bore him four sons and six daughters.

Col. de Neveu was a wonderful scholar—reading the polyglot with the utmost facility and elegance, and speaking with polish and eloquence nearly all the languages of the leading civilized nations. He was also familiar with the gutterals of the Winnebagoes, and the labialistic but more comprehensive idioms of the Menomonee, Pottawatomie, and Ojibwa Indians. He wrote much for the people through the public press, always dealing in practical and useful topics. His learning and fine conversational powers, suavity and courtly manners, made him attached friends —not a few among the most distinguished in the country. Religiously and politically, he was quite independent in his views.

The first history of Wisconsin, and description of her resources, ever translated into French, was prepared and translated by Mr. de Neveu, and was sent broadcast over France for the enlightenment of those in that country who might desire to emigrate to America.

"Col. de Neveu," says the Milwaukee *Wisconsin*, "was a profound student and worshiper of nature; was an expert naturalist; loved, studied, and protected beast, bird, and fish, and at the great judgment day will have but one sin to answer for—that of having been a candidate for office on the Greenback ticket."

He was truly a remarkable man—upon whose like we shall never look again. "Once," adds the *Wisconsin*, "three years ago last fall—in 1878—a French lady named Boulay, was to be buried near Col. de Neveu's home. He was found occupied about his large farm, and was asked to go and pronounce a funeral sermon or address. At once, without preparing his toilette or mind for the occasion, he went to the grave-side, and uttered the following pure and beautiful, though not entirely orthodox eulogium:

"My Friends: Leaf by leaf the roses fall; drop by drop the springs

run dry; one by one we tarry by the wayside; the tender young, full of promise; the middle-aged, in the strength and pride of manhood; the decrepit old man, loaded with the weight of many winters—all alike must yield to inexorable death.

"Born at a certain period in the eternal flow of time, we are carried a little while down its current; the longest life a mere breath, a dot; then we disappear from the surface to be no longer seen of men, and the stream continues to flow, almost heedless of our having lived. As entities we have a birth; as entities we die; nothing remains of our individual existence but a fleeting memory, for those who remember us soon pass away.

"Whence came we? Whither are we tending? Ah! who can tell? Some profess to know, but they know not. Where have last summer's roses gone? What will become of yon dry leaf, torn from its parent stem by this wintery blast? Like us, they disappear, and are merged into the ocean of matter from which they are evolved, ready to be recombined into new forms of beauty; for although individual existences perish, matter is imperishable; having had no birth, it will have no death. Like time and space, it is infinite and eternal.

"Brought forth into this world without being consulted, we are hurried out of it without our consent. Like that leaf which was the hope of spring, the pride and glory of summer, we are rudely torn away, the sport of destiny, to return to the elements of nature, whence we sprung —dust to dust.

"Of the future, the hereafter, we are as ignorant as the infinite conditions through which we have passed during the eternity which has preceded our brief present existences. If we could know the history of our past, we might get a glimpse of our future; but no message ever reached man from beyond the grave. The past is a sealed book; the future is a blank. No records are left to us, save those written in the rocks, and evidences brought before our senses; they tell their own stories. Nature and her laws are our only safe guides. Whatever doctrine conflicts with these cannot be true.

"We submit to nature's inexorable mandates. We submit, for however great our aspirations, they avail not; we are mere toys or instruments, subject, as everything that exists, to her immutable and ever-acting laws. We accept the inevitable without fear. Death means but new forms of life; in this sense there is no death. Our birth is a resurrection, our death a new birth.

"The past is beyond recall; the future is veiled in obscurity and in doubt; the present alone is ours. Let us do our part while we live. Let us promote advancement by studying nature and her laws. Let us live honest, useful lives. Let us consider every man, whatever his creed or birthplace, as a brother. Let us love one another. Mankind is but one great family.

"Let us practice kindness and justice; let the inevitable run its course, and let us not dread a future over which we have no control."

When Col. de Neveu came to America, it so chanced that the passenger packet on which he embarked was named the "Silvia de Grasse" in honor of the youngest daughter of his father's old commander, the Count de Grasse. The "Silvia de Grasse" lies in the sands at Astoria, wrecked there many years ago, and buried deep by the rolling waters of the Columbia River. Col. de Neveu also lies buried on the shores of the beautiful Columbia he so fondly loved, whose waves will ceaselessly beat his requiem forever.

1882

Capt. Henry Dillon, near Lone Rock, January 10th. He had been a resident of Richland County for twenty-eight years. He was among the first to respond to the call of his country, and went out in 1861, as captain of the 6th Wisconsin Battery, and served with credit in the many engagements through which he passed; and having served in the regular army for years in the old Sherman Battery, under Scott and Taylor in the Mexican War, he was employed at the outbreak of the civil war in disciplining men for the contest. His services were many and important.

Mrs. Jane F. Dousman, at Prairie du Chien, January 13th, in her seventy-eighth year, where she was born April 12th, 1804—a daughter of Capt. Henry M. Fisher and Madeline de Verville, and a sister of Mrs. Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay. She was first married, in 1819, to Joseph Rolette, who was a leading merchant and trader at Prairie du Chien for many years. Mr. Rolette dying in 1842, two years later she was united in marriage to Col. H. L. Dousman, whom she outlived several years, as she did her three children by her first marriage. She was a woman of many virtues, noble, kind-hearted, and benevolent.

Hon. Henry D. Barron, at St. Croix Falls, January 22d, in his forty-ninth year. Coming to Wisconsin with the double profession of a printer and a lawyer, in 1851, he commenced life as an editor, and was subsequently appointed postmaster at Waukesha. He subsequently located in his legal profession at Pepin, and gradually rose to many positions of honor and trust. Hon. S. S. Fifield has furnished in the ninth volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, a fitting memorial of Judge Barron's life, character, and public services.

Moses Lane, in Milwaukee, January 25th, in his fifty-ninth year. Born at Northfield, Vt., Nov. 16th, 1823, he was educated at Norwich Academy and the University of Vermont, graduating from the latter in 1845, as a civil engineer. After service in engineering work on railroads in New Hampshire and Vermont, he took charge for four years of the Academy at Springville, N. Y.; when he again engaged in railroad work as resident engineer, located at Albany; but as this enterprise after a year was suspended, he again turned his attention to conducting the Academy at Clar-

ence, N. Y., where he remained three years. Then for five years he served as principal assistant in the extensive waterworks at Brooklyn, when upon the retirement of his superior, he succeeded him in 1862, remaining in that position for seven years, when he was replaced because he refused to lend assistance to a ring whose aim was to fleece the public. For several years he was consulting engineer for Western railroads; and in 1871 he was appointed engineer of the Milwaukee waterworks, and was subsequently employed by several cities in the construction of sewerage systems, in which he excelled.

Deacon Thomas Pollock, a relative of his namesake, the author of the *Course of Time*, died in Beaver, Iowa, February 3rd, nearly seventy-four years of age. He was born near Glasgow, Scotland. Coming to this country in 1831, he first settled in Massachusetts, removing to Wisconsin, in 1840, locating in La Fayette, Walworth County; in 1871, removing to East Troy, and in 1881 to Iowa, where his children had settled. He was a good man, a peace-maker, and a wise counselor.

David McBride, at Sparta, February 10th, in his eighty-first year. Born in Springfield, Bradford County, Penn., in September, 1801, he removed to Ohio in 1823, publishing a paper, and serving in various public offices; among them, postmaster at Oberlin, under Presidents Taylor and Fillmore, and acting with the anti-slavery leaders of that state. Coming to Wisconsin, in 1856, he was connected with the press at Watertown, Mauston and Sparta; and postmaster at Sparta from 1861 to 1871. He was useful, fearless and patriotic in the discharge of every duty.

Capt. Joseph Keyes Hyer, in Baltimore, February 12th. He was born at Aztalan, Jefferson County, Wis., in 1845; went to West Point, in July, 1861, at the age of sixteen, and graduated in June, 1867; was appointed second lieutenant, and immediately thereafter promoted to first lieutenant, and assigned to the 18th Infantry, serving several years on the western plains against the Indians. He subsequently served about eight years in Georgia and South Carolina, during which time he was promoted to a captaincy. On account of ill health, he made several trips to Europe; and failing to regain it, he was placed on the retired list of the army. His remains were conveyed to Madison, and interred beside his father, the late Hon. George Hyer, and his mother, a sister of Hon. E. W. Keyes.

Christian Schafer, at Mineral Point, March 7th, at the venerable age of ninety-six. He was personally acquainted with the first Napoleon, with whom he served in several campaigns, terminating at the battle of Waterloo, where he received a slight wound.

Ezekiel B. Smith, a pioneer of Walworth County, died in LaFayette, March 10th, where he settled in June, 1843. He was a man of positive convictions, integrity, hospitality, and public enterprise.

Hon. James O'Neill Sr., at Neillsville, Clark County, March 28th, after a few days' illness, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was born in Lisbon, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., May 4th, 1810. He commenced

business life while yet young, first as a clerk, and then in lumbering and other enterprises. In September, 1839, in company with his brother Alexander, he started from Prairie du Chien in a canoe, stocked with provisions, with which they proceeded to, and made their first settlement on, Black River, at a point about three miles below the present Black River Falls, where they built a sawmill. In 1844, Mr. O'Neill settled on the present site of Neillsville, erecting the first building there—a rough log cabin.

In 1849, he represented Chippewa and Crawford counties in the legislature. From 1861 to 1865, he was treasurer of Clark County, and in 1868, he again represented his district in the legislature. He was fifteen years chairman of the county board of supervisors, and held many important town offices. As an early pioneer of the Black River country, and a man of generous sympathies and impulses, his name and memory will long be cherished in that valley.

Joseph Gillis Taylor, familiarly known as Gen. Taylor, died at Elkhorn, March 31st, in his eighty-seventh year. He was born in Argyle, N. Y., March 19, 1796, and was a soldier in the War of 1812, serving at the battle of Plattsburg, September 11, 1814, and received a pension for his services. He settled in Elkhorn in June, 1857.

Gideon Pitts Parker, in Summit, Juneau Co., Wis., April 5th, at the age of ninety-eight years, six months, and fifteen days. He was a private in the land forces, stationed at Erie, Penn., in 1813; and was a volunteer on board the flagship "Niagara," under Commodore Perry, in the memorable battle on Lake Erie, September 10th, in that year, and was slightly wounded in the engagement. He deservedly enjoyed a pension for his services.

Died at Sheboygan, April 10th, Francis R. Townsend, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was born in Troy, N. Y., Aug. 29th, 1813; settled in Racine in 1844, and in 1851 at Sheboygan, where he served as the first mayor, was several times alderman, school commissioner, and superintendent of the city schools. He was also president of the Bank of Sheboygan, secretary and treasurer of the Sheboygan and Fond du Lac Railroad, and treasurer of the Sheboygan Manufacturing Company. He was long and largely engaged in business affairs, and with his good judgment met with large success.

Mrs. Manchell Reynolds, at Watertown, Wis., April 23d, at the advanced age of ninety-five years. She was a native of Maryland, and saw Washington when he was president. She had resided in the vicinity of Watertown since 1850, and enjoyed a pension, her husband having participated in the battle of New Orleans.

Robert R. Menzie, an eminent criminal lawyer, died at Delavan, May 3d, aged seventy-two years.

Hon. William Dick, of apoplexy, in Brothertown, Calumet Co., May 3d, aged sixty-seven years. He was one of the oldest settlers in the county, locating there in 1831. He represented his district in the assembly two

terms, and held various other important offices. He was an educated Brothertown Indian, a worthy and useful man.

Judge Charles S. Benton, at La Crosse, May 4th, at the age of seventy-two years. He was a native of Maine, but early settled in the Mohawk valley, where, by his worth and talent, he represented the Herkimer district two terms in Congress, from 1843 to 1847. He subsequently removed to Milwaukee, and for a time edited the *Daily News;* and taking up his residence at La Crosse, he was chosen county judge, and so satisfactory was the administration of the office, that he was practically given an undisputed life tenure of it, and worthily filled the position until within a few months of his death. He was a scholarly writer, and highly respected.

Miss Jane Dousman, at Green Bay, May 4th, nearly seventy years of age. She was the eldest of seven children of John and Rosalie Dousman, born at DePere, June 17, 1812. "The adventures of those perilous times of Indian and British warfare attended the family at the date of her birth, and hung in quite romantic degree over her youthful head. When she was three months old, word came through a friendly Indian, that harm was impending over the family. The little infant Jane, was lowered into a cistern, and cared for by a faithful attendant for twenty-four hours. The family was then hastily got together again and taken in a canoe to Mackinac, where they resided for some time. Many incidents regarding their life, the pressing of the father into the British army, his being compelled to march against his own household, etc., etc., are of interest."

Mr. Dousman dying in 1820, the family four years later removed to Green Bay. Several years ago, the mother, Mrs. Dousman, was engaged by the Indian agent as a teacher of the Menomonees at Keshena, and was accompanied by her daughters, Jane and Kate—the latter dying while in service there. For years these devoted women labored unceasingly among those dusky people, giving the best part of their lives to the work. On the death of her mother, Jane Dousman succeeded her and labored awhile longer. During the war her patriotic feelings were aroused, and she personally appealed to the Menomonees, and thus aided in swelling the ranks of the recruits. She at length retired to Green Bay to spend the rest of her days.

Miss Dousman exhibited great dignity of character, combined with a loveliness and gentleness that pervaded all her intercourse with friends and the world. She was loyal in her attachments and sincere always. Considerateness for the feelings and comfort of others was a trait that received exemplification even to the last of her conscious hours. Her life was a self-sacrificing one, and many of its phases had bound up in them heroisms of the kind that do not reach the outer world, but are firmly, lovingly and quietly worked out in a record of devotion to duty. To many she was simply Aunt Jane, always—a term of endearment that continued with her days. She had many friends, largely among those who

had known her for years, and regret at her death will enter many hearts. Her brothers, John P. and George, and sister Kate, preceded her to the grave. Her surviving sisters were Mrs. Lefevre, near Omro, Mrs. Gustave de Neveu, Fond du Lac, and Mrs. D. Wiley, Merrill.

Mrs. Sarah Randall, mother of the late ex-Governor and Postmaster-General A. W. Randall, and Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall, of Florida, died on May 4th, at the age of eighty-three years.

Ephraim S. Durfee died at Poygan, about May 5th, at the great age of nearly ninety-seven. Born in Rhode Island in 1785, and reaching manhood, he removed to Salina, N. Y., and engaged in contracting for the construction of public works. He became a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity; and moving to Rochester, he there conferred the degree of apprentice and fellow-craft upon William Morgan, the reputed exposer of Masonry. In regard to Morgan, Mr. Durfee, was of the opinion that he never wrote the book credited to him; but that it was the production of some one else over Morgan's signature, and that its purpose was political effect rather than a blow at the order. Durfee reasoned that Morgan having, as he believed, received but two degrees in Masonry, could not have produced the work, which evinced familiarity with mysteries of which he had no knowledge.

The disappearance of Morgan, and the subsequent anti-Masonic excitement, rendered Rochester so uncomfortable for members of the order, that Durfee and others repaired to Canada for quiet and safety, where he remained until 1845, when he settled on a farm adjoining Oshkosh. So hardy was he, that on his ninety-fourth birthday, he sowed some grain, chopped three-quarters of a cord of wood, made an axe-handle, and called on several of his friends. He served under Gen. Scott, at Lundy's Lane, and other battles on the Niagara frontier, but declined to apply for a pension, saying that he was amply compensated for his services.

Col. John O'Rourke, of Plattsmouth, Nebraska, died at St. Louis, May 5th. Many years ago, he settled in Milwaukee, performing clerical services, and became captain of the Montgomery Guards. On the breaking out of the Civil War, he joined Colonel Bragg's regiment as lieutenant-colonel, and when Bragg was promoted, he succeeded to the command of the regiment, and served with honor to the end of the war. Removing to Linden, Iowa County, he was several times chosen to the legislature, and served one term as treasurer of Iowa County. He at length removed to Plattsmouth, where he held the position of assistant cashier of the First National Bank, and also served as mayor of the city. He left a wife and three children.

Hon. John Rutledge, at Ixonia, May 12th, at the age of sixty-four years. He was a pioneer settler of the town, and once represented his district in the legislature.

Judge Derrick C. Bush, at Lawson's Mills, Nebraska, May 17th, at the

age of sixty-seven years. His early life was spent as a sailor on the seas, visiting many lands, and relating many experiences. He settled in Madison, in 1850, as an attorney at law, and was many years a justice of the peace, and at one time probate judge of Dane County. A few years before his death, becoming a paralytic, he removed west.

Hiram Morley, who died at Oshkosh, May 27th, was born in Cayuga County, N. Y., Oct. 24th, 1826, and settled in Oshkosh in 1847. He was a man of prominence, and served five successive terms in the common council of that city; was connected with several newspaper enterprises, and was twice postmaster of the assembly.

William Brittan, at Platteville, June 4th, aged about ninety-two years. He was born in Philadelphia, about 1790, of German parents—his father having been a soldier of the Revolution. He came to Platteville in 1838, and resided there, unmarried, forty-four years; he was the friend of everybody, and everybody was his friend.

Prof. Milo P. Jewett, in Milwaukee, June 9th, at the age of seventy-four years. Born at St. Johnsbury, Vt., April 27th, 1808, he graduated from Dartmouth College in 1828; and after spending the next year as Principal of Holmes Academy, at Plymouth, N. H., he devoted three years to studies at Andover Theological Seminary. He then engaged in teaching with such success, that he resolved to adopt it as a profession instead of entering the ministry; and, in 1834, he accepted a professorship in Marietta College, Ohio. He aided in the adoption of a new school system in that state. In 1839, he severed his relations with Marietta College, and established the Judson Female Institution, at Marion, Ala., and also published the *Alabama Baptist*. In 1856, he purchased Cottage Hill Seminary, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which resulted in the establishment of Vassar Female College, of which he became the first president, serving with great success for six years, when he resigned in 1867, and settled in Milwaukee, where he devoted his remaining years to furthering religious, educational and philanthropic enterprises.

J. C. Keeney, editor of the *Chronicle*, at Weyauwega, died at that place June 13th, in his sixty-first year. He came from the State of New York many years ago as one of the attaches of the *Wisconsin Chief*, and conducted papers at Ft. Atkinson, Sharon and Weyauwega. He was an honest and conscientious citizen and editor.

Alexander Grignon, a native of Green Bay, was thrown from a wagon and killed, near his residence in the town of Howe, Shawano County, July 4th, at about the age of seventy years. He was an early school teacher at Green Bay, and nearly fifty years ago was engaged, with his brother, Charles A. Grignon, in keeping an Indian trading store at Kaukauna. He afterwards lived for many years at Keshena. He was courteous and genial, and possessed of a fund of anecdote and adventure connected with Indian and frontier life.

Michael Speel, in Buchanan, Outagamie County, July 7th, in the eighty-

sixth year of his age. He was a native of Delft, Holland, and accompanied a colony of Hollanders who settled Little Chute, under the Rev. Father Vanden Brœk, in 1848; and he soon after settled in the dense wilderness of Buchanan. He and his family lived some of the time, in their first settlement, on roots, berries and wild game. Their first bag of flour Mrs. Speel carried on her back from Winnebago Rapids, now Neenah, a distance of twelve miles, to their place of abode. Once Mr. Speel got lost, and it was forty-eight hours before he was found by his neighbors.

Jacob West, at Evansville, Wis., July 10, aged seventy years. He migrated from Rock Grove, Ill., and for forty-two years he resided at Evansville, much of the time holding some town office, as town clerk, assessor and justice of the peace. He was a pioneer of Methodism in Evansville, and served the public faithfully and correctly.

Daniel O'Connor, in Summit, Dodge County, July 11th, aged ninety-nine years. He was a native of Ireland, and had resided in Wisconsin about forty years.

Williams Lee, in Milwaukee, July 12th, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was born in Chester, Mass., November 22d, 1800, and settled in Milwaukee, in 1843. He erected the sixth brick house in Milwaukee, in which he died. He was a prominent Odd Fellow, and a member of the Old Settlers' Club.

Died in Bristol, Kenosha County, July 27th, Rev. Salmon Stebbins, eighty-seven years of age. He was born in New Hampshire, July 13th, 1795. He came to Wisconsin in 1837, as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal church, his field of labor extending from the Illinois line to Green Bay, preaching, in November, 1837, the first sermon proclaimed in Madison. After living several years in Lake County, Illinois, he settled in Kenosha, where he was stationed as a minister in his declining life. He was a faithful and useful pioneer preacher, and a zealous member of the Masonic order.

Hon. Nathaniel O. Murray, at Lake City, Iowa, July 27th. He was born at Evans, Essex County, N. Y., February 7, 1834; came to Wisconsin in 1848, settling first at Fox Lake, and in 1855, at Pepin; and was for several years engaged in managing a steamer on Lake Pepin. He held several offices, among them that of sheriff, and served, in 1882, as a member of the legislature.

Rev. Alfred Brunson, D. D., at Prairie du Chien, August 3d, in his ninetieth year. Born in Danbury, Conn., February 9th, 1793, he received but a limited education, and spent five years in learning the trade of a shoemaker. An extensive reader, he studied law; and, in 1808, went first to Ohio, and then to Carlisle, Pa. In 1809, he joined the Methodist church, and prepared himself for the ministry—returned to Connecticut, married, and, in 1811, removed to Ohio. He served a year in the army under Gen. Harrison, and was at the taking of Malden, the battle of the Thames, and recapture of Detroit. He labored efficiently in the ministry in Ohio and

Pennsylvania until 1835, when he removed to Wisconsin, reaching Prairie du Chien on the 25th of October; and was the first Methodist preacher to pioneer the way north of the Wisconsin River. He was made presiding elder of a district extending from Rock Island to the head of the Mississippi, including the Indian mission.

On account of ill-health, Mr. Brunson relinquished the ministry in 1839, was admitted to the bar, and practiced for about ten years. In 1840, he was elected to the Territorial legislature; and, in 1842, he was appointed Indian agent at La Pointe. In 1850, he was an unsuccessful candidate for judge of his district; and returned to ministerial labors, being located at Mineral Point. In 1853, he was appointed presiding elder of the Prairie du Chien district, then one of the most extensive in the State. In 1862, he was made chaplain of a regiment, but from ill-health was soon compelled to resign. Partially recovering his health, he resumed and continued his ministerial labors until 1871, when he retired from further service. He was a prolific writer for the press, and was the author of a *Key to the Apocalypse*, *Incidents in his Life and Times*, historical papers in the *Collections* of our Society, and several pamphlet publications. Dr. Brunson was a man of indomitable energy, unwearied labors, and great usefulness in his day and generation.

Hon. Alvin B. Alden, at Eau Claire, August 13th, in his sixty-fifth year. Born at Stafford, Conn., March 1st, 1818, he came to Wisconsin when comparatively a young man, located in 1844 at Randolph, and, in 1851, at Portage City, where he held many offices of trust, at one time clerk of the board of supervisors, then mayor of the city, and, in 1858, a prominent member of the legislature. He served for a few months as insurance clerk under Secretary of State Doyle, and many years as loan agent of the North Western Life Insurance Company. He rose to a thirty-third degree Mason, was grand master of the grand lodge of the State, grand commander of the Knights Templar, and grand high priest of the grand chapter of Wisconsin, serving in all these positions with great credit to himself, and honor to the fraternity. He was at one time an unsuccessful candidate for secretary of state. He possessed a nice sense of honor, and was deservedly held in high estimation.

Hon. Hugh McFarlane, in Arlington, August 16th, at the age of sixty-seven years. Born in County Tyrone, Ireland, June 22d, 1815, he came to America, locating first at Mineral Point in 1835, and two years later at Portage, but not permanently until 1843, and engaged in merchandising and lumbering. He was a member of the last Territorial and first State legislatures. In 1859, he settled on his farm in Arlington, and became active in town affairs, serving as chairman of the board of supervisors. He was also one of the commissioners of the Wisconsin Farm Mortgage Company. He was well educated, possessing a kind, sympathetic heart, well posted in public affairs, and of a very genial, social disposition.

Col. William H. Jacobs, at Milwaukee, Sept. 11th, in his fifty-first year.

He was born in Holzen, Germany, Nov. 26th, 1831; he came to the United States in 1850, and after a short residence in St. Louis, settled in Milwaukee in 1851, and became a banker. He was at one time clerk of the Milwaukee county court; commanded the Twenty-sixth Regiment of Wisconsin volunteers, participating in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wauhatchee, and other engagements, and was severely wounded. He served a term in the State senate in 1875–76. He was a large landowner in northern Wisconsin and Michigan, and left a large estate. He was very popular and greatly lamented.

Hon. Alanson Holly, at Kilbourn City, Sept. 15th, in his seventy-third year. He was born at Granville, N. Y., July 21st, 1810. He early engaged in teaching in Wyoming Co., New York, where he served eighteen years as school inspector and town superintendent, and for twenty years in mercantile and newspaper life. On removing to Wisconsin in 1855, he located at Kilbourn City, and with the succeeding year commenced the *Wisconsin Mirror*, which he continued until the autumn of 1860, when he removed to Lockport, N. Y., engaging in newspaper enterprise. In 1866, he returned to Kilbourn City, subsequently re-establishing the *Mirror*. In 1867, he was chosen a member of the legislature. He was a vigorous writer, and always a leader in what he believed to be right.

Hon. Robert Hall Baker, in Racine, Oct. 5th, in his forty-fourth year. He was a son of Hon. Charles M. Baker, and born in Geneva, Wis., June 27th, 1839. He received a good education, taking a partial course at Beloit College. In 1856, he engaged in a clerkship in a hardware store, serving two years, and then spent a year in Thomas Falvey's reaper works at Racine; and, in 1860, became connected with the extensive manufacturing establishment of Hon. J. I. Case & Co. In 1863, he purchased an interest in this establishment, which resulted in an ample fortune. In 1867, he was elected school commissioner of Racine; in 1868 and 1871, an alderman; in 1872, and again in 1874, he was chosen a member of the State senate, and mayor of Racine in 1874. He was an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1873; and in 1879, he was selected as chairman of the Republican State committee, serving two years. He was an officer in several manufacturing and mining companies in which he was interested; and was a government director in the Union Pacific Railway. He was pre-eminently a man of business capacity, and possessed many excellent qualities of head and heart.

Prof. Allen H. Weld, at Troy, near River Falls, Oct. 18th, at the age of seventy-three years. He was born at Braintree, Vt., Sept. 7th, 1809. After spending two years in Dartmouth College, he went to Yale College, graduating with honor in 1834, and after spending two years in Andover Theological Seminary, and one in teaching in Phillips' Academy, he became principal of North Yarmouth Classical Academy, in 1837, where he remained eleven years. It was during 1837, he prepared his useful textbook upon the science of language. In 1839, he was chosen a member of

the board of overseers of Bowdoin College. He spent a year giving instruction in Boston, and then removed to Cumberland, Md., where he successfully conducted an academy for six years. At West Lebanon, Vt., he established in 1855, a female seminary, and conducted it for three years, when, in 1858, he migrated to Wisconsin, engaging in farming, and serving as superintendent of schools of St. Croix County, filling many local offices of trust, and serving also as a regent of the board of normal schools. He had much to do in securing the location of the normal school at River Falls. He was a man of enlarged views, a fine scholar, and exercised much tact, and met with much success as a teacher.

Judge Harmon S. Conger, at Janesville, October 22d, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Fulton, Courtland County, N. Y., was the place of his birth, April 9th, 1816. Completing his academic course in the spring of 1839, he studied law, and the next year purchased and edited a weekly paper. He was chosen county treasurer for several years, and was twice elected to Congress, serving from 1847 to 1851—with a single exception, the youngest member of the house. In October, 1855, he removed to Wisconsin, settling at Janesville in the practice of his profession. In the spring of 1870, he was chosen judge of his circuit, and by re-election, without opposition, continued on the bench till his death. He was an able and upright jurist, and a man of unbending integrity. His death was a great loss to his judicial district, and to the State as well.

Charles A. Morse, near Racine, October 28th, aged thirty-one years. He had recently been county superintendent, and was a man of much worth.

Hon. John Delaney, at the Nebraska insane asylum, October 29th, at the age of fifty-eight years. He was born in New York city in 1824. He was a lawyer by profession, and early settled at Stevens Point, and represented that district in the legislature in 1849; subsequently located at Portage City, where he published the *River Times*. He served as a volunteer in the war, and drifted away to Nebraska, finally settling at North Platte, and married a Kentucky lady. Several years ago, it was reported that he had frozen off both his feet, which proved an exaggeration. Symptoms of mental aberration appearing, he was consigned to the State insane asylum, where not long after he died of acute mania. He had his faults, but was kind, humane, companionable, and without an enemy.

Nathan Joy, at Racine, Nov. 3d, in his ninety-fourth year. Born in Plainfield, Mass., he settled in Wisconsin, in 1836, and eleven years later located in Racine. He had rendered good service in building up the city of his adoption. He was a member of the Old Settlers' Society, and highly respected by all acquainted with him.

Col. Joseph Henry Carleton, at Sioux Falls, Dak., Nov. 8th, in his fifty-ninth year. Born at Gardiner, Me., April 11th, 1824, he migrated to Racine in 1849, and in 1856, to Berlin. In 1862, he raised a company, first called the Truesdell Rangers, afterwards known as Co. C, 32d Wis. Inf., and served to the end of the war. On the 30th of June, 1864, he was promoted

to major, and on the 13th of August following, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. In the latter position, the full command of the regiment devolved upon him while serving in Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama, and on Sherman's famous march to the sea. Though a strict disciplinarian, he always had the comfort and welfare of his men at heart, freely sharing with them in every danger and privation. After the war, he was employed at Racine and Kenosha, until early in 1882, when he removed to Dakota.

James F. Atkinson, while on a visit to Appleton, Dec. 5th. He was born in England, Sept. 7th, 1833—having been brought by his parents when three years old to Canada, and in 1847 to Wisconsin Territory. In 1858, he went to California, where he married, and three years later returned to Wisconsin, settling at Appleton; afterwards removing to Missouri; and finally, in 1876, settled at Escanaba, conducting the *Tribune* for three years. Removing to Florence, he was appointed county judge of the newly organized county.

Josiah A. Noonan died at the Wauwatosa lunatic asylum, Dec. 11th. He was born at Amsterdam, N. Y., May 13, 1813. In 1826 became an apprentice to the printing business, and subsequently published the *Mohawk Herald* at Amsterdam. He moved to Milwaukee in 1836; in 1838 established the *Wisconsin Enquirer*, at Madison, which was removed to Milwaukee in 1841, the name being changed to the *Courier*, which survived till 1845. He was postmaster at Milwaukee under President Pierce; and on his retirement in 1857, engaged in business. He published for a while at Chicago the *Industrial Age*, which proved unsuccessful. He was famous for the number of law suits in which he was engaged. He was a devoted friend of Gov. Dodge, and had much to do with early Wisconsin politics, and always exhibited unbounded fertility of resource. The last two or three years of his life his former robust health failed him.

Dr. Carl Willgohs, a native of New Calen, Mecklenburg, died in Watertown, Dec. 15th, at the age of seventy-one years, where he had been a successful practitioner of medicine for thirty-one years.

Mrs. Polly Doxtator, on the Oneida reservation, near Green Bay, December 14th, in her ninety-eighth year. She was born of Delaware parents, at Cape May, N. J., March 17th, 1785, and early became associated with the Oneidas, in central New York, in 1802, marrying into the prominent Doxtator family of that tribe. Her sons Jacob and Cornelius Doxtator are among the most noted Oneidas, and her only daughter is the wife of Capt. Cornelius Doxtator, who commanded a company of Oneida sharpshooters during our late Civil War. Mrs. Doxtator was raised by a Quaker in Pennsylvania, and was an intelligent, amiable, and most worthy woman, retaining her bright faculties to the last.

Judge Samuel A. Randles, in Waukesha, December 17th, in his fifty-fourth year. Born in Argyle, N. Y., June 22nd, 1829, at the proper age he read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1848, and the same year located

at Delafield, where beside devoting himself to his profession, he also served as justice of the peace. He resided also a while in the town of Summit. On being elected county judge in 1860, he removed to Waukesha, and was re-elected in 1864, serving altogether eight years, when he retired, resuming his professional services. His death was greatly lamented.

On the 17th of December, also passed away Col. Edward H. Gratiot, at Platteville. St. Louis was the place of his nativity, having been born there June 19th, 1817. In 1825, he came with his parents to Galena, then but little more than a mining camp, where his sister, Mrs. E. B. Washburne was born, said to have been the first white child born in the settlement. He attended Jacksonville College, of which Lyman Beecher, the father of Henry Ward Beecher, was then president. Locating in Dubuque in 1835, he continued to reside there till 1840, when he removed to Gratiot's Grove, engaging in mercantile life. He took up his abode awhile in the copper mining region of Lake Superior; but soon returned to Gratiot's Grove. He served as county treasurer for four years; and, in 1863, entered the volunteer service, and was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for faithful and meritorious conduct. For several years, and at length with success, he urged the heating process of wheat for grinding. He was quiet, modest, unostentatious, and his private and business life were above reproach.

Additions

Dr. Samuel C. Muir, vol. ii, 212, 224

Dr. Samuel C. Muir, was the son of Rev. Dr. James Muir, a noted clergyman of Scotland, and long of Alexandria, D. C., and was apparently a native of Edinburgh, where he was educated. In his boyhood, his parents removing to this country, he subsequently became a physician; and in April, 1813, was appointed a surgeon's mate in the army. He was retained on peace establishment, and served awhile as hospital surgeon's mate, and post surgeon in 1818, but was dropped in July, 1819.

It would seem, that it was while he was located at Fort Edwards, now Warsaw, Illinois, at the foot of the rapids of the Des Moines River, or at some other post on the Upper Mississippi, that he married an Indian maiden of the Fox tribe, under very romantic circumstances, if we may credit the *History of Joe Daviess County, Illinois.* A beautiful maiden, the daughter of a chief, whose name has not been preserved, visited the post where Dr. Muir was stationed. In her dreams she had seen a white brave unmoor his canoe, and paddle it across the river directly to her lodge. According to the superstitious belief of her race, she knew full well this betokened her future husband, and came to the fort to find him.

Meeting Dr. Muir, she instantly recognized him as the hero of her dream, which she, with child-like innocence and simplicity, related to him. Her dream indeed proved prophetic; for the doctor, charmed with Sophia's beauty, innocence, and devotion, honorably married her. After awhile, the sneers and contumelies of his brother officers, led him, when his regiment was ordered down the river to Bellefontaine, to desert his dark-skinned bride, supposing that she would either not attempt to discover his retreat, or would fail in the effort. But with her infant child, the intrepid wife and mother, started alone in her canoe, and after many days of weary labor, at last reached her truant husband, much worn and emaciated after a lonely journey of several hundred miles. She said, "when I got there, I was all perished away—so thin." The doctor, touched by such unexampled devotion, took her to his bosom, and, until his death treated her with marked affection and respect—regretting, we may well judge, his cruel abandonment of so true and devoted a wife. She always presided at his table, and was respected by all who knew her. She never however, discarded her native dress.

It was this marriage with this noble forest maiden, that led to Dr. Muir's retirement from the army—probably yielding to the wishes of his

wife, by settling in the region of her people. After leaving the army, Dr. Muir very naturally at first engaged in the Indian and frontier trade; Jesse W. Shull—who gave name to Shullsburg—finding him with a supply of goods at Fevre River, since Galena, in the latter part of 1819, furnished by Col. George Davenport, of Rock Island. The *Joe Daviess History* indicates, that Dr. Muir, had previously built the first cabin erected by a white man at the present site of Keokuk, but soon leased his claim to others, wending his way to La Pointe, the primitive name of Galena, where he not only merchandised awhile in a small way, but practised his profession as well.

During the Black Hawk War, when the cholera broke out with great violence among Gen. Scott's troops while at Galena, in 1832, Dr. Muir nobly and fearlessly volunteered his skill and efforts to stay its dreadful ravages; but after saving the lives of many of the stricken soldiers, he was himself attacked by the fell disease, and in twenty-four hours was numbered among its victims. He died a hero—sacrificing his life for his fellow-men. He left four children—Louise, who married at Keokuk, and since died; James, who was drowned at Keokuk, and Mary and Sophia. His property was left in such condition, that it was, after his death wasted in vexatious litigation, and his brave and faithful wife, left penniless and friendless, became discouraged, and, with her children, disappeared, returning, it is said, to her people on the Upper Mississippi. Dr. Muir was a highly accomplished man, and a skillful physician.*

Capt. Henry Monroe Fisher, vol. ii, 226; iii, 237–238

From correspondence with Mrs. Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay, daughter of Capt. Fisher, we learn these facts, partly corroborative of, and partly additional to H. L. Dousman's statement: Capt. Fisher was born near Lake Champlain. His father, Donald Fisher, was a wealthy Scotchman and his mother was Elizabeth Monroe. He was educated at Montreal. He had a rich young Englishman of the name of Todd for a fellow student; and they becoming attached, concluded to engage in the fur-trade of the great Northwest, first attaching themselves to the North West Fur Company. Fisher was young, with an independent, restless spirit, and resolved, after a short engagement, to strike out for himself. Todd, according to Gov. Reynolds, first engaged in the Indian trade on the Upper Mississippi, and located as a merchant and trader at Cahokia, in 1793; and shortly after, going to New Orleans, died there.

Fisher made his headquarters at Prairie du Chien, where Augustin Grignon found him in 1795; and the next year, he married a daughter of Gauthier De Niverville—called De Verville in Grignon's "Recollections." They had four children, three sons and a daughter—the latter,

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Kett & Co's *History of Joe Daviess County*, p. 231–35; Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army;* Sprague's *American Pulpit*, iii, p. 517.

represented by Col. John Shaw as a beautiful girl, became first the wife of Joseph Rolette, and afterwards of H. L. Dousman, Sr.

His wife dying, he married at Mackinaw, Miss Anne Lasaliere, July 22d, 1809, whose mother was a granddaughter of a distinguished Ottawa chief. Taking his wife to Prairie du Chien, their only child, now Mrs. Baird, was born there April 24th, 1810. In June, 1812, Mrs. Fisher and child made a visit to her parents at Mackinaw, and the war soon after breaking out, they were unable to return to Prairie du Chien, and it so happened that they never after made that place their residence. Capt. Fisher not wishing to engage in the war, took two of his sons, Henry and Alexander, and repaired to the Rivière Rouge, in the Northwest, soon becoming a partner of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, and locating at the Selkirk Settlement. When he left Prairie du Chien, he placed his oldest daughter, and youngest son, with their aunt, Mrs. Michael Brisbois Sr.—the son was the father of Mrs. M. F. Fenton. He did not return from the Northwest until September, 1823, when he visited his wife and daughter at Mackinaw, and then went to Prairie du Chien, where he died at his daughter's, Mrs. Rolette's, in 1827. His sons, Henry and Alexander, remained at Winnipeg.

Pike in his *Travels*, mentions Mr. Fisher as a prominent resident of Prairie du Chien when he was there in 1805, holding the offices of captain of the militia, and justice of the peace—hence dignified, in common parlance, as Judge Fisher. He was over six feet in height, light complexion, sandy hair, with very blue eyes, straight as an arrow, and of handsome appearance even in old age.

Col. Henry Gratiot's Captivity, vol. ii, 336

In addition to what is related of this mission by Col. D. M. Parkinson, in vol. ii, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, and the several statements of Capt. Henry Smith, Hon. Peter Parkinson, and Hon. E. B. Washburne, in the present volume, the following narrative from Wakefield's *History of the Black Hawk War*, 1834, a work of great rarity, furnishes many interesting details—so minute as to suggest the strong probability that Col. Gratiot himself supplied them for that work. Col. Parkinson and Capt. Smith concur with Wakefield in stating, that it was Black Hawk who virtually held Col. Gratiot a prisoner at the Prophet's village. It was creditable to the colonel's good tact, and knowledge of Indian character, that he so completely foiled the purposes of that wily chief. This affair occurred in April, 1832.

"I will next refer the reader," says Wakefield, "to a visit made to the hostile Indians by Henry Gratiot, Esq. On the 16th day of April, Mr. Gratiot, Indian agent for the Rock River band of Winnebagoes, received a letter from Gen. Atkinson, informing him of the movements of Black Hawk's band of hostile Indians, and requesting him, if possible, to ascertain the disposition of them. On the receipt of this information, Mr.

Gratiot proceeded down Rock River; and, on the 19th, arrived at the Turtle Village of the Winnebagoes—found them at the exercise of their religious ceremonies, and consequently could not have a hearing till the 22d. He then held a talk with them, and learned from them that the Sacs had, at three different times, sent them the wampum, and that the last was painted red—thereby indicating war. The last wampum was not returned. They also informed Mr. Gratiot, that it was their determination not to join the hostile Sacs; that there were some Winnebagoes living at the Prophet's village who were friendly to the whites; and that they requested them to leave it, and come to their village to reside until all the difficulties were settled.

"In order to accomplish this object, Mr. Gratiot took twenty-four men of the Turtle Village to accompany him to the Prophet's Town, at which place they arrived on the 25th, and hoisted his flag of truce.

"He was received with much attention by the Winnebagoes, who made him a large lodge, eighty feet long, for himself and their visiting brethren. In this village he found between two and three hundred men, women and children, belonging to the Prophet's band. These Indians manifested no hostile disposition, but severally remonstrated against the conduct of the Prophet, who was at that time with the hostile band of Sacs, a few miles below, leading them on to his village. Mr. Gratiot advised these Indians to go up Rock River on their own lands and make a village, where they might rest in peace. This they promised to do.

"On the 26th, Mr. Gratiot saw at a distance, about two miles down Rock River the army of the celebrated Black Hawk, consisting of about five hundred Sacs, well armed and mounted on fine horses, moving in a line of battle. Their appearance was terrible in the extreme. Their bodies were painted with white clay, with an occasional impression of their hands about their bodies, colored black. Around their ankles and bodies they wore wreaths of straw, which always indicated a disposition for blood. They moved on with great regularity, performing many evolutions; wheeling every few minutes, and firing towards Fort Armstrong; turning, flanking, and then forming into solid columns, from which they would form their line of march. In that way they marched to the beating of a drum till they came to the village.

"They marched up to Gratiot's lodge, where was flying the neutral flag, formed a circle around it; took down his flag, and tauntingly hoisted the British colors in its place. They then fired into the air toward his lodge, sounded the war-whoop around it, and made several motions toward attacking Mr. Gratiot and the friendly Winnebagoes. They afterwards dismounted, entered his lodge, shook hands with Mr. Gratiot and Mr. Cubbage, a gentleman who accompanied him. They then formed a circle within his lodge, holding their spears and other implements of war, and evincing, by their actions and countenances, an unfriendly feeling. After holding a consultation among themselves, a friendly Winnebago chief,

White Crow, who went with Mr. Gratiot from the Turtle Village, arose, went to his blanket, took out two plugs of tobacco, and gave them to the war-chief of the hostile band; after which the war party left the lodge, leaving only Black Hawk.

"This chief, Black Hawk, then told Mr. Gratiot, that he had received a letter from Gen. Atkinson; but refused to let him read it at the time; but said that he would show it to him when he got to the end of his march, which was about sixty miles above. Mr. Gratiot replied, that he was not going that way; but he was answered by Black Hawk, that he would let him know about it on the next day. So it appeared that Mr. Gratiot was then considered their prisoner of war—which, the development of other facts that afterwards occurred, conclusively proved. Black Hawk shortly afterwards left Mr. Gratiot, under a promise to visit him again the next morning.

"The hostile band were all night engaged in holding a council among themselves. On the following morning, the Prophet, at the head of about forty warriors, came into Mr. Gratiot's lodge, presented Gen. Atkinson's letter, and told him he might take the letter back to the General. Mr. Gratiot insisted on reading the letter to them; upon which request, Black Hawk and Naopope were sent for, and the letter read. The substance of which was, to advice the hostile chiefs to desist from their evil designs—recross the Mississippi River, settle down in peace, and plant their corn, etc. In reply to which, they requested Mr. Gratiot to hand back the letter, and inform Gen. Atkinson, that their hearts were bad, and that they would not return; but, to the contrary, that if he brought his troops among them, they would fight them. Mr. Gratiot immediately went to Rock Island, and delivered the message."

White Crow, or the Blind, vol. ii, 354

Kawneeshaw, or White Crow, or the One-Eyed, seems not to have been a war-chief. He appears to have been a prominent civil chief of the Winnebagoes, and one of the orators of his people. He was a signer of the treaties of Butte des Morts, in 1827; Green Bay, in 1828; and Rock Island, in September, 1832. His name is not among the signers of Prairie du Chien treaty in 1829.

He must have died not very long after the Rock Island treaty—probably while passing on the road to or from Prairie du Chien, perhaps about 1834. His village as related by Sat. Clark in vol. viii, of our *Collections*, was on Lake Koshkonong.

The following note written in 1874, for our Society, by the late Hon. Stephen Taylor, would indicate that he passed away prior to 1836—at which period the Winnebago chief, Whirling Thunder, pointed out his grave to Mr. Taylor. We say prior to 1836, as Mr. Taylor came to the lead region in 1835, and he refers to the time of his meeting Whirling Thunder as before the settlement of Madison in 1837; and in volume ii

of our *Collections*, p. 482, Mr. Taylor speaks of camping "with a comrade" at the head of Lake Mendota, in the summer of 1836, doubtless the same trip when he met the Winnebagoes.

"Many years ago," writes Mr. Taylor, "before your now flourishing city became Madison, while on a tour with a comrade, through the region of country between Wisconsin River, Four Lakes and Fort Winnebago, on our 'homeward bound' along the old military road, we halted to refresh ourself and nags at a cabin then used by Mr. Berry Haney, a stage proprietor, as a temporary resting place for passengers, etc., where we were overtaken by a large number of Winnebagoes, among whom was Waunkesha, or Whirling Thunder, a subordinate chief of that tribe. These Indians, during a short halt, with solemn ceremonies, paid their accustomed devotions to the last remains of their departed chief White Crow. The place of interment of that celebrated chief is at a point near the foot of a bluff, twenty-five feet or more west from the line of said military road, and about one hundred and fifty yards southward from a spring near the easterly side of said road, the waters from which flow northward and join a larger stream which finds its way through Black Earth Valley to Wisconsin River at Arena. That this was the grave of that chief, I was at the time informed by Whirling Thunder himself, The grave may probably still be found, unless obliterated by vandal hands in the improvement of the village of Cross Plains, in or near which it is so located, where, should the project be deemed of sufficient consequence, the citizens of that village could erect a monument, commemorative of the good or evil deeds of the once renowned White Crow, among whose praiseworthy acts was his rewarded participation in the rescue and restoration of the Hall girls; and among the possible evil deeds was his suspected duplicity in acting as a guide of our forces in pursuit of Black Hawk near Koshkonong." White Crow, or "The Blind," as he was frequently called, joined the army at First Lake, with about thirty Winnebago warriors, with the promise of pointing out the trail of the retreating Sauks. All the historical accounts of the period unite in casting strong suspicions on White Crow's fidelity; and his threats at the Blue Mounds go far towards corroborating this view of his conduct. It should be added, that his son, White Pawnee, fought bravely and openly beside Pierre Poquette at the battle of Wisconsin Heights.

See Wakefield's *History of the Black Hawk War*, pp. 46, 47; D. M. Parkinson's "Narrative," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 354; Charles Bracken's statement, in Smith's *Hist. of Wis.*, iii, p. 219; Strong's *Wisconsin*, pp. 145, 146.

Amable De Gere, dit La Rose, vol. iii, 213, 217, 218, 238; vol. vii, 174

George T. Bennett, who has resided in Wisconsin since 1829, writes from Shawano: "The writers in the *Collections* of the State Historical Society, err in stating that Amable De Gere, better known by the name of La Rose, returned to his native Montreal, where he finished his days, and died an old bachelor. He lived and died at Green Bay, and left quite a

large family, and numerous descendants. Jacob Franks, one of his four daughters, Theresa; Margaret, Angeline, and Susan Ducharme, were the others. There were two sons, Alexis and Enos La Rose. My wife is one of his granddaughters. Susan Ducharme figured somewhat in a land suit in the courts—Cholivieux vs. Ducharme."

I-om-e-tah, vol. iii, 227, 269, 272, 284, 294

Hon. M. M. Davis' statement.—"I am quite sure that the old Menomonee chief, Iometah, died in the spring—April, I believe—of 1865. In the summer of 1864, while I was Indian agent, I had a small frame house built for him and his squaw. About Christmas following, I was at the Indian village of Keshena, and although the weather was very cold, I found Iometah would not live in the house I had built for him, preferring his wigwam close by. I made him quite a visit, having Capt. Wm. Powell for interpreter. The old chief was very deaf, yet I had quite a long talk with him. His squaw appeared to be as old as himself—both very aged.

"The Menomonees go into their sugar camps in February, and remain until May. Iometah and his squaw went to the sugar bush with some of his people, in the spring of 1865, and there both of them died. Among the Menomonees, Iometah was noted as the great beaver hunter.

"Soulignee or Souligny, died of erysipelas in December, 1864, at his house on the west bank of Wolf River, at what is known as the Great Falls. I have a calumet pipe, of quite liberal dimensions, which was presented to me by Souligny, on behalf of the Menomonees, on the 4th of July, 1864. I was told that the old chief was six months in making this pipe of peace.

"Shamanapewassah, a noble old chief of a Pagan band, died in the spring of 1863.

"Pegahkenah, a noble-looking, middle-aged chief, died of smallpox in the spring of 1865. He was a Christian Indian, and an enterprising farmer. His wife was a half-blooded Winnebago, and I believe he was a cousin of Mrs. Eleazer Williams, the wife of "the lost Dauphin."

Capt. William Powell's statement.—"I will state what I remember of Iometah. He was a chief of the Little Kaukalin and Little Chute band of Menomonees, where he lived. He was not present at the treaty of 1827. But at the treaty made at Washington, in 1831, he was the principal chief, and had the authority of the whole tribe. A few inferior chiefs accompanied him with their agent, Col. Stambaugh, on their mission to visit their great father, President Jackson, who had invited a delegation there to cede a portion of their land to the government, and all their expenses should be paid. This was late in the fall of 1830.

"Oshkosh, the head Menomonee chief, was expected to head the visiting party; but when he reached Green Bay, some of the traders, who had influence over him, and who were opposed to a treaty at Washington,

advised him not to go, as they said no treaty could be made without him. He followed their advice, and refused to go.

"But Ayamahtah, or Fish Spawn, always so signing his name to treaties, but which for euphony became toned down to Iometah, said he would go with a few principal men of the tribe, and see their Great Father, in fulfillment of a previous promise the Menomonees had made. Though Oshkosh did not have much respect for his word, Iometah thought the promise was sacred, and should be kept good. He took his wife with him; and they passed the winter in Washington, making the treaty, ceding a portion of the Menomonee country to the United States, and returning home in the spring. At the treaty at Green Bay, with Gov. G. B. Porter, in 1832, and at Cedar Point, with Gov. Dodge, September 3d, 1836, he again signed his name as Ayamatah, or Fish Spawn.

"He was an honest and quiet man, and I always regarded him as temperate. He was born at Menomonee River, below Green Bay, as near as I could find out by him, about the year 1767, and when he died at Keshena he must have been at least ninety years old—his wife dying six months previously. She was the granddaughter of the great chief Tomah. They had but one child, a son, who died at Powauecon Lake, in 1852, at the age of fifty years.

"Iometah was in the War of 1812, figuring at Prairie du Chien at the time the Americans surrendered the fort to the British forces. He was also in the Black Hawk War. A man by the name of Wilcox from New York, was murdered near where Appleton is now located, by three Menomonees belonging to Iometah's band. I went to the old chief and told him, that it was his duty to deliver them to the sheriff. He called his band together immediately, and selected five young men, and heading them in person, overtook the murderers near Manitowoc, secured and took them to Green Bay, delivering them to the authorities."

Capt. Powell must have erred in stating, that Iometah's wife was a granddaughter of the old Menomonee chief Tomah; for Tomah and Iometah were brothers, according to the statement of Augustin Grignon, who knew them both well; corroborated by Iometah's grandson, Joseph Gauthier. Iometah would hardly have married a granddaughter of his brother; and it is apparent from the accounts given of them, that she, as well as the old chief, lived to be very aged, and, as early as 1802, she bore him a son. They were too near of an age to have borne the relationship to each other mentioned by Capt. Powell.

Joseph Gauthier, then in the Indian service at Keshena, stated, in November, 1882: "Iometah was a brother of the chief Tomah. He was born in or about the year 1776, and was about eighty-eight years old at the time of his death, which took place two days after Ash Wednesday, in 1864, and was buried at Keshena on Easter Sunday.

"He was a quarter-French blood, and his English name was Augustin Garron. He had a twin brother who was accidentally killed by a friend,

while out hunting near Prairie du Chien, before the War of 1812. He has no children living. His only living relatives are Shoneon, a nephew, and myself, a grandson.

"He went to Washington, and signed the treaty in 1831, and was the principal man in making it. About 1833, he removed from Green Bay to Kaukemo or Kaukalin, and, in that year, joined the Catholic church there, and became a prominent and very active member, helping to build the church edifice. In 1842, he removed to Poygan, and in 1852 to Keshena.

"The old church records were carried off by a priest and lost; so we are compelled to rely on our memories for early events, and may err slightly in some cases."

Louis B. Porlier, son-in-law of Augustin Grignon, an old Menomonee trader, who knew Iometah and wife well, writes:

"The old chief, Ayamahtah, or Fish Spawn, had but one name. His wife died in the fall, and he in the following spring, but I cannot recall the year. They had one son, Chawpoitook, or Going Through, and two daughters, and several relatives—all have passed away, except a grandson, who ranks as a chief, named Ahkenepaweh, or Earth Standing"— and who signed the treaty of 1831.

Iometah's birth, death, and age.—Taking Augustin Grignon's statement as to Iometah's birth, and Dr. M. M. Davis's as to the time of his death, he was born about 1772, and died in the spring of 1865, making him about ninety-three years of age; and according to his grandson, Joseph Gauthier, the old chief died two days after Ash Wednesday, which in that year, occurred on March 1st, thus fixing the time of his decease, March 3d, 1865.

L'Espagnol and Col. Holmes, vol. iii, 279

Augustin Grignon stated that in the British affair at Mackinaw, in 1814, Maj. Holmes was shot simultaneously by l'Espagnol and Yellow Dog, Menomonee chiefs, each claiming the honor of his fall. C. J. Coon, an old Indian trader, now of Briarton, Shawano County, states: "I was engaged in the Indian trade before Wisconsin became a State, and among my many acquaintances was an Indian named Aspis. He claimed to have Spanish blood, and was known by the Indians as Aspio, which means Spaniard. He often related to me his connection with the big English chief, Dickson, and his greatest war exploit was the shooting of Maj. Holmes, at Mackinaw, for which he drew a life pension from the British government.

"This fact I am personally acquainted with, that he would leave Oshkosh in the spring with his family, in a large bark canoe, coast along the Lakes down to Malden, and receive his British presents, and return home in time to draw his annuity with the Menomonees from the American government. He finally carried the thing so far as to raise the British flag in front of his wigwam on the pay-ground. Col. Jones, the

Indian agent, sent a squad of troops, and conveyed the old chief and his flag to the pay-house, when the colonel plainly admonished him, that if he ever raised that flag again on the pay-ground, he would hang him. I relinquished the Indian trade about that time, and lost all trace of Aspis. He has a daughter still living, in October, 1885, near Winneconne." L'Espagnol signed the treaty at Butte des Morts, in 1827.

Lieut. Pullman, vol. iii, 271, 272, 278, 279

In Grignon's Narrative, mention is made of Capt. Pohlman as commanding a small company of British regulars on the Prairie du Chien expedition of 1814. B. W. Brisbois, when interviewed in 1882 had no recollection of such an officer. A paper, however, among the manuscripts of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, a prominent British officer in the capture of Prairie du Chien, and its subsequent commander, gives the name and rank as Lieut. Pullman, and mentions him as a witness in the trial of a soldier for a misdemeanor, in April, 1815. Mr. Grignon erred in crediting Pullman with the command of the company. A. H. Bulger was the captain and Pullman the second in command. The company belonged to the Newfoundland regiment, and not to the regulars, as Mr. Grignon supposed.

Lieut. Pullman is mentioned in Col. Dickson's letters of April 19th, 1814, and January 15th, 1815, in this volume, as in some way connected with the Indian department, and under his orders; and is also referred to, in Wm. Dickson's letter, April 18, 1821, as then at Lake Traverse engaged in the Indian trade, and *en route* with Duncan Graham for the Northwest.

Winnebagoes—O-chun-gra, vol. iii, 285

The original name of Winnebagoes was Ochungra, or the Large Fish —one that spouts water, hence the whale. Wau-kon Haw-ka, or Snake Skin, a distinguished Winnebago chief, so related to B. W. Brisbois, adding that the Winnebagoes came from the Southwest Sea, where whales existed. Mr. Brisbois made this statement to the editor in December, 1882.

Early Educational Efforts, vol. v, 321, etc.

In Hon. W. C. Whitford's review of primitive education in Wisconsin, the early efforts of Judge M. M. Jackson and others, were apparently overlooked. On the 16th of January, 1846, there was an educational convention held at Madison, when Judge Jackson was appointed at the head of a committee to report some plan for the advancement of common school education in the Territory. Judge Jackson prepared an able report, which is appended, in full, to the journal of the legislative assembly of that year. It recommended the appointment of an agent—now known as state superintendent to visit the different counties, and school districts, learn their condition, collect statistics, organize associations to advance the cause of education generally, and train teachers; and also that a Territorial Educational Association be formed to carry

out more effectually these views. Though a bill was introduced in the legislature providing for the appointment of a Territorial school superintendent in accordance with the suggestion of Judge Jackson's report, while the subject was generally approved, it failed of passage, on the ground that as the Territory was then in a transition state, it would be advisable to refer the matter to the new State organization for definite action. But the early movement of Judge Jackson and associates in behalf of popular education in Wisconsin, served to keep the matter fresh in the minds of the people, until their views became permanently incorporated in the constitution of the State three years later.

Michel St. Cyr, vol. vi, 398, x, 76

It was stated, on the authority, if we rightly remember, of Col. G. H. Slaughter, that St. Cyr was a Canadian half-breed, and corroborated by Mrs. Peck. But this is an error. At the treaty with the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien, in 1829, reservations of land were made by the Winnebagoes "to Michel St. Cyr, son of Keenokau, a Winnebago woman, one section; to Mary, Ellen, and Brigitte, daughters of said Keenokau, each one section."

On the authority of Jonathan C. Fletcher, agent at the Winnebago Agency, in Iowa, Schoolcraft states, in the third volume of his *Indian Tribes*, pp. 377, 378, in a description and comparison of the hair of the North American Indians, states, that "Michel St. Cyr, a di-mestisin—Winnebago and French—has curled hair," and "by his wife, a pure Winnebago, with straight black hair, has four children [about 1852], one, fourteen years of age, has chestnut hair, brown complexion, and black eyes; another, aged twelve, has dark chestnut hair brown complexion, and dark hair; the third, a brunette, has blackish brown hair and black eyes; the fourth has blackish brown hair, brown complexion, and black eyes;" while a sister of St. Cyr, "married to a Pole, has one child that has blonde hair, and light eyes; and another who has light brown hair, copper complexion, and black eyes."

These statements settle the matter, that St. Cyr was no Canadian half-breed, but a Winnebago half-breed, and consequently a native of Wisconsin. His father was doubtless an early French trader among the Winnebagoes.

Sauks and Foxes Leave Wisconsin, vol. viii, 247–49

After Marin drove the Sauks and Foxes from the Fox River valley, in 1746, they established a finely built town, or twin village, on the localities of Prairie du Sac and Sauk City. Here Carver found them twenty years later, in 1766. In 1767, Black Hawk claimed to have been born at the Sauk village near the mouth of Rock River; and Augustin Grignon, who saw the remains of their settlement at Prairie du Sac in 1795, judged it had been several years deserted. In vol. third of Schoolcraft's

Indian Tribes, is given the narrative of John B. Perrault, who visited the Sauk village at the mouth of Turkey River, in Iowa, in the summer of 1783. In a note to Perrault's narrative, Schoolcraft states, that this Turkey River Sauk village was at what is now Cassville, when he should have said, that it was located opposite to Cassville, and then adds: "Mr. Perrault informs me, that the Indian village had been established by the Sauks and Foxes that year, they having left the Wisconsin in consequence of their disastrous war with the Chippewas." This would imply, that a portion of the united tribes had formed their settlement near the mouth of Rock River many years before the final abandonment by their remaining friends, of the Prairie du Sac region early in 1783.

Lake St. Clair, Mistranslation of Its French Name, vol. ix, 110

Hon. James V. Campbell, of Detroit, writes: "On page 110 of vol. ix, of your *Wisconsin Collections*, I notice a mistranslation, which I presume is due to illegible writing in Mr. Margry's letter to you concerning La Salle's journeys. The early name of Lake St. Clair was *le Lac des eaux Salées*, meaning Lake of Salt Waters or Salt Springs, named from adjacent salt springs. *Dirty Waters* would be *eau sale*, or *eaux sales*—a mistake easily made by a careless copyist, but not appearing in the old writers."

Lake Sakaegan, vol. ix, 130–34

In Long's *Travels*, p. 82, we find that Sakægan, according to the Chippewa language, simply meant lake; or they seem to have used it in that general sense, without referring to its size, whether large or small.

Col. Brisbois' Narrative, vol. ix, 283

Notwithstanding I read over to the late Col. B. W. Brisbois the notes I took of him, in November, 1883, a mistake occurred which he did not happen to notice, and which, when published, he discovered, and sent the following correction: "It is a mistake that my father's first wife, the Winnebago woman, was daughter of my grandfather, Gautier De Verville. I have informed myself about her, and can state, that she was a large, handsome woman, looking very much like the old Winnebago chief, Waukon-Hawkaw, or Snake-Skin, sometimes called Waukon De Carrie. He was a large, handsome man, who evidently had white blood in him and when young was very strong. I think it quite likely that my father's Winnebago wife was of that famliy—descended from the old French trader De Carrie, or De Kaury. Her three children by my father were very large and powerful. The eldest, Angelique was a very large and strong woman, while her brother Michel was a wonder of strength and power. He was not so tall as a man as his sister was as a woman, but was very heavy. Antoine, the youngest, was over six feet when he died at about fourteen years of age. Of all the children by my mother, my father's second wife, not one was large or heavy, or strong;

and but one out of ten was half an inch taller than I am [common sized man], and all, save myself, died before they were fifty years of age."

James Aird, vol. ix, 294

The date of Mr. Aird's death, which Col. Brisbois thought was not long before 1820, occurred February 27th, 1819, as Lieut. D. H. Kelton, U. S. A., of Mackinaw, communicates, which he derived from the records of the American Fur Company.

Cuthbert Grant and Colin Campbell, vol. ix, 299, 300

Cuthbert Grant is mentioned as an early trader on the Upper Mississippi, and as, perhaps, the person after whom Grant River, and Grant County, Wisconsin, were named. It should, however, be added, that in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, iii, p. 355, James Grant, a trader from Montreal, is mentioned, who was, it would seem, an earlier Western trader, having wintered at Cahokia during 1783–84. It would seem quite probable, that this James Grant was the father of Cuthbert Grant, as the latter, according to the statement of Mr. McArthur following, was born about 1791–92, several years later than James Grant is known to have been engaged in the Indian trade; and to James Grant is much more likely due the honor of having early traded on Grant River, and thus affixed his name to that stream.

A. McArthur, Esq., president of the Historical Society at Manitoba, after stating that he was in Europe when the inquiries were made with reference to Messrs. Grant, Campbell, and Dease, writes: "I will," says Mr. McArthur, "briefly give you such information as I possess.

"Cuthbert Grant was a native of the Hudson's Bay Northwest region, being of Scotch and Indian extraction. When quite a young man, he took a leading part among the traders of the North West Company of Montreal, and also acquired much influence with the Indians and half-breeds. In June, 1816, he assumed the leadership of the band who attacked Gov. Semple and the people of Hudson's Bay Company, on the Frog Plains, near Fort Garry. The affair turned out almost a massacre; but Grant was credited with great humanity in exerting his authority to stay the ferocity of his followers—see my newspaper article on the 'Battle of the Seven Oaks.' After the amalgamation of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies, Grant was taken into the service of the new organization, known as the Hudson's Bay Company. He was appointed warden of the plains, an office created for him, with a salary of £400 sterling. His residence was at White Horse Plains, on the Assiniboine, about twenty miles west of Fort Garry, where he died greatly respected, in July, 1854, about sixty-two or three years of age, latterly, a very corpulent man.

"Colin Campbell was a chief factor in the fur company's service. He bought a house about a mile from Fort Garry. He was a man of fine appearance and good address, neat in his person and surroundings, and was a good mechanic—cabinet-maker, carpenter, and painter. His house is

still standing, about the middle of the city of Winnipeg. After the mail had long been brought once or twice a year by the fur company, and when regular mail conveyance was established, Mr. Campbell was appointed postmaster, the first in the far Northwest. He was a native of Lower Canada; and died suddenly of heart disease while painting a window in his house, in the fall of 1852, aged about seventy years. He bore a good character; but, as was too commonly the habit of North West traders, left a wife and numerous offsprings without any provision for their support. A son is now a farmer near Portage de Prairie, in Manitoba, and doing well."

Mr. McArthur proceeds to give an account of William Dease, who was a colleague and companion of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer, under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company. Returning from the far North in 1839, he received a pension of £100 sterling from the government and died at Montreal at an advanced age. He was not, however, the Capt. Francis M. Dease, who figured at Prairie du Chien, while the British had possession during 1814–15.

Col. Pettival, vol. ix, 301

Col. Pettival, a government engineer, is mentioned by R. C. Taylor, in Silliman's *Journal*, July, 1838, p. 95, and in Lapham's *Antiquities of Wisconsin*, p. 64, as engaged in a topographical survey of Fox River in the summer of 1837, and opened several mounds in Wisconsin at that early period.

Le Sellier, Maj. Long's Guide, vol. x, 72, 102, 103

Prof. Butler furnishes this additional note: Of Le Sellier, who was Maj. Long's guide in 1823, James Watson Webb gives the following information. That in February of the preceding year, Lieut. Webb, then an adjutant in the U. S. army, was sent with important dispatches from Fort Dearborn to Fort Armstrong and took refuge in Le Sellier's trading hut. Webb describes Le Sellier, whose name he spells "La Saller," as an old Canadian *voyageur*, with an Indian family, and a head whitened by the snows of eighty winters. Webb was secreted from the Winnebagoes in the good old man's loft during their war dance close by, while performing which they dug up the hatchet for war against the whites, and the dispatch bearer was then told by the old trader how to elude the braves on the war path. See Webb's *Altowan*, p. xix.

Perrot's Post at Trempealeau, vol. x, 366–68

Since the paper on the *Early French Forts in Western Wisconsin* was printed, a little fact having some possible relation to Perrot's post at Trempealeau, has come to light. B. F. Heuston, Esq., of Winona, and G. W. Squires, of Trempealeau, state, that guided by Paul and Antoine Grignon, step-sons of James Reed, who came to the Trempealeau locality when boys, a spot was pointed out where are some remains of a former fort or residence, located on the right of way of the Chicago, Burlington & Northern Railroad, mostly on the upper side, just east of a cluster of ancient mounds, near Mr. Brady's residence, something more than a mile above the Trempealeau station, and about a mile and a half above the business center of the town. These remains are on a sandy terrace, two or three feet above the railroad grade, some fifteen feet above the river level, and perhaps an eighth of a mile from the present course of the river. It is within three or four rods of a slough, which must formerly have rendered the locality approachable by boats and canoes; but is now so filled as to obstruct a water passage, except in high stages of the river. A short distance to the west is a very wild, romantic, rocky gorge, in which there is a small flow of water a portion of the year, which accumulates in natural basins, furnishing an adequate supply of water.

Paul Grignon, the elder of the brothers, and part Winnebago, said his step-father, James Reed, had noticed these stone-heap remains, but had no knowledge or tradition of their origin. There is, however, some lingering tradition of there having been a trading-post in that region at some former remote period. Of these low stone heaps or tumuli, three are on the southern side of the railroad, and five on the northern side. They are grouped, amid rank vegetation, within the space of a few rods square. Northward of these tumuli, is a still larger one, yet unexplored. composed of larger stones, and on higher ground, a few paces beyond the railroad right of way. The stones of which these heaps are made, are mostly sandstone, with some limestone, of different strata, generally flat, and of moveable size, and appear to be above the original surface, and mostly taken from a rocky knoll close by.

The earth from one of the group of five was removed to a depth of some six inches when a perfect and well-defined fireplace and hearth were disclosed, laid with flagstones on the surface of the natural earth, in clay mortar, in which a liberal amount of grass was intermixed, to increase its cohesive properties, as indicated by the grooves or impressions observable in the clay. The fireplace was found to be five and a half feet wide, and two feet in depth; the hearth seven and a half feet long, with a width of two feet or more, in front of the fireplace. The south portion of the back wall of the fireplace was destroyed in the excavation, but the original form was unmistakably indicated. On this hearth and fireplace rested about an inch and a half of pure ashes;

then a layer about an inch thick of innumerable bones of various game on which the occupants had subsisted; and, lastly, an irregular layer of clay that had probably fallen from the chimney as it gradually went to decay. It would seem that the lower portion of the fireplace was supported by logs, and the chimney portion very likely formed of sticks with its clay daubing; for had the whole chimney been constructed of stone, the stone heap would have been much larger.

The finding of charcoal behind the chimney, one piece about six inches in diameter, might perhaps indicate that the log structure was destroyed by fire. Mr. Squires suggests, that as the bones formed a distinct layer, instead of being mixed all through the ashes would seem to show, that they were not the remains of every day life; but rather of a feast, just prior, perhaps, to the abandonment or destruction of the post.

There are no signs of any stone structure other than the fireplaces, nor any indications of an embankment, moat, or stockade. The buildings of which the fireplaces formed a part, were probably of logs. Such a structure, in early times, would have been denominated a fort or post; but the situation was not well-chosen, and hence not probably designed, for defensive purposes, being commanded by eminences within easy bow or gunshot, and easily approached by surprise parties. It was, however, well suited for a trading-post, which was its probable use, combining, as it did, the essential conditions desirable for such an object—navigation, wood, stone, water, and winter shelter. It is not improbable that these remains indicate the locality of Perrot's trading-post, where he spent the winter of 1685–86.

Height of Mt. Trempealeau and the Bluffs, vol. x, 366–67

Mr. B. F. Heuston communicates the following measurements of Mt. Trempealeau, and the bluffs at Trempealeau village, taken by W. A. Finkelnburg, of Winona, assisted by Mr. Heuston—the instrument used was a telescopic spirit-level, at about one-fourth of a mile distant:

Highest point at Trempealeau Bluff	548 feet.
Liberty Peak, nearest the village, about	465 "
Mt. Trempealeau	398 "

Advent of the Cardinals to Prairie du Chien, vol. x, 335

Note, p. 335. Mr. Butterfield's supposition that the Cardinals came to Prairie du Chien at the time of the great flood of 1785, is stated in his *History of Crawford County*, pp. 282–83.

P. 367. Mr. Heuston corrects a misunderstanding of his statement relative to the Swiss missionary Gavin and associates, at Trempealeau. Instead of Rev. Daniel Gavin, and an associate with their excellent wives locating at Mont Trempealeau in 1836, it should be stated, that Gavin had at that period neither associate nor wife. He was assisted by one Louis Stram, who opened a farm there. On the abandonment of his mission,

Gavin joined Rev. Samuel Denton, a Swiss countryman, and labored elsewhere among the Dakotas.

Mr. Gavin did not marry till 1839, when, after he left Mont Trempealeau, he was united in marriage to Miss Lucy C. Stevens, a missionary, and niece of Rev. J. D. Stevens. After Gavin's discontinuing his missionary attempt at Trempealeau, Mr. Stevens made an abortive effort to establish a mission at Wahpasha's village, now Winona.

Louis Stram was a Canadian Frenchman, whom Gavin found at Prairie du Chien, where the latter went to study the Sioux language. This effort at farming on the part of Stram in connection with this mission, was the first modern settlement effected in Trempealeau County.

Messrs. Gavin and Denton had migrated together from Switzerland to the Upper Mississippi, but had separated, Denton going on to Red Wing. He was joined there by Gavin and his bride, sometime after the abandonment of the Trempealeau mission, and there they and their excellent wives labored together for the amelioration of the red race, till 1845.

Denton before beginning his mission, had married a Miss Persis Skinner, a missionary among the Chippewas. So the two Swiss missionaries both married missionary wives, and formed two families; and all assisted Messrs. Pond and Riggs in preparing their well-known *Grammar and Lexicon* of the Dakota language.

My authority on this subject, is a pamphlet by the Rev. John P. Williamson, supported by direct correspondence with the author, and the venerable Rev. S. W. Pond. Gavin, Denton, and their wives, are all dead. The account concerning Louis Stram and the mission-farm, came from the Grignons and Mrs. Doville, now Bibault. Mrs. Doville was James Reed's daughter, and her husband, Doville, succeeded to the farm after its abandonment by Stram. The *History of Winona County*, gives an imperfect account of these matters.

Autograph Collections of the Signers, vol. x

[Wherever possible, Dr. Draper's corrections to his article as originally published have, as customary in these reprints, been inserted in the new edition at the proper places. But owing to the mechanical limitations of a page-for-page reproduction, the following could not thus be inserted.—R. G. T.]

After the word Columbia, in second line, add: These, with the peerless Lynch letter, originally in Dr. Sprague's best set, now in Dr. Emmet's with the signature furnished by Gen. Hamilton to Dr. Sprague, and by him transmitted to Dr. Raffles, together with the two signed land documents, one in the collection of Col. Myers, and the other in that of E. E. Sprague, make twenty-three autographs altogether known to be extant of Thomas Lynch, Jr.

P. 388. Top line, after the word "extent," add, "whose composition is unknown."

P. 415. Thirteenth line from top, add: This group includes his second set of the signers.

P. 424. Owing to a misapprehension, Dr. Fogg did not, as he supposed, secure the Lynch signature from Mrs. Ely's incomplete collection—it has since been added to Dr. Emmet's fourth set; hence this notice of Dr. Fogg's second set is, in that particular, erroneous; both Dr. Fogg's and Mrs. Ely's second collections should be relegated to their proper places, Mrs. Ely's to precede Mr. Greenough's among the incomplete sets. The collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society ranks, therefore, as No. viii, and those following should in their order be corrected accordingly.

P. 436. At the end of the third line, in notice of the second set of Mr. Gratz, add: It contains some 1776 letters, is illustrated with portraits, and forms part of the series of members of the old Congress.

P. 436. Dr. Emmet's fourth collection no longer lacks Lynch and Gwinnett, having obtained Mrs. Ely's Lynch from her incomplete set, and a Gwinnett, it is understood, from Col. C. C. Jones. The Lynch is simply signed "Lynch," without the initial "T.," or the supplementary "Jr." The Lynch in Col. Jones' second set is a similar specimen, yet its genuineness is well attested.

Page 438. Following the notice of Rev. Dr. Dubb's collection, add: James W. Howarth, of Glen Riddle, Pa., has fifty of the signers, of which nineteen are A. L. S.; while Paine, Floyd, Stockton, Ross, Rush, Wilson, Chase, Stone, and Rutledge are A. D. S.; Whipple, and Livingston, L. S.; Bartlett, S. Adams, Hopkins, Huntington, Hart, Franklin, Morton, Smith, McKean, Harrison, Nelson, Hooper, and Heyward, D. S.; Lewis, L. Morris, Rodney, Read, F. L. Lee, and Middleton, signatures, and Wythe, a specimen of writing. The lacking autographs are Clark, Hewes, Penn, Lynch, Gwinnett, and Hall. Nine of the full letters are of the Revolutionary period, of which Taylor's was written in 1776. The set is illustrated with forty-four portraits, and forty-eight views.

Besides a partial set of the signers of the constitution, Mr. Howarth lacks only four of all the generals of the Revolution, including eight specimens of Washington; the presidents and vice-presidents, with the cabinet officers, all illustrated with portraits, views, etc. He has also eighteen of the declaration signers in duplicate.

Mr. Howarth is a native of Delaware Co., Pa., born in 1837, and commenced gathering autographs in 1864, and his varied collections now run up into the thousands.

P. 443. Last paragraph, transfer the names of Moreau, Ingraham, and Keeler, to the list of dispersed collections, following Joseph B. Boyd's name at the head of the page.

A pamphlet edition of this paper on the signers, with additions and corrections, in neat and tasteful style, will soon be issued by C. De F. Burns & Son, 744 Broadway, New York.

[A few copies thereof, are still obtainable from this Society.—R. G. T.]

Dr. O. M. Conover's Ancestry, vol. x, 452

F. K. Conover, Esq., son of Dr. Conover, furnishes the following account of the Conover ancestry: The earliest American ancestor of Dr. O. M. Conover was Wolfert Gerretson Van Couwenhoven, who came to this country in 1630, from Amersfoost, in the province of Utrecht. His second son, Jacob Wolfertsen, was one of the "board of nine men," and a delegate to the states-general, in Holland. Gerret Wolfertsen, the eldest son of Wolfert Gerretsen, was born in 1610, and was twenty years old when he came with his father to this country. His eldest son, William, was born in 1636. Of the seven sons and five daughters of William, the ninth child was John, who bought lands in Monmouth County, New Jersey, in 1704, and settled there. He had seven sons and one daughter; the seventh son and youngest child was Garret, whose second child, Benjamin, born in 1753, married about 1774, Abigail, daughter of Obadiah Barcalow, or Berlew. The seventh of their eight children was Obadiah, who married Sarah Miller, who were the parents of Dr. O. M. Conover.

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